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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-061
Friday
31 March 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Conventional Force Reduction Positions Viewed

LD2903175889 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 29 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Respective proposals submitted to the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces reductions in Europe by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the North Atlantic alliance, have clearly outlined two approaches which contain both similarities and serious divergences. First and foremost, both favour a priority reduction of those categories of arms which constitute the potential for a surprise attack. The two sides also agree already at the first stage to reduce their conventional armaments to equal levels that would be lower than the lowest levels of either of them at present. After doing away with the imbalances, the Warsaw Treaty proposes 10-15 per cent reductions in the sides' armaments while NATO's corresponding figure is 5-10 per cent.

Both sides appear to be striving to avoid discussion on the starting data on the numerical strength of the troops and armaments, which deadlocked the talks on armed forces and arms reductions in central Europe. Not to bog down in endless disputes over whose figures are the correct ones, they propose concentrating on the examination of certain categories of armaments subject to reductions and of specific final levels to be reached as a result of the reductions. Finally, the sides also see eye to eye on the need for strict international control over compliance with the would-be agreements, including on-the-spot inspections without the side's right of refusal.

At the same time there are also quite substantial differences between the positions of the sides. Firstly, unlike the NATO countries which propose only arms reductions, the Warsaw Treaty states also wish to achieve a substantial reduction in the numerical strength of the troops. It is difficult to understand why the NATO document does not say a word about the numerical strength of troops. One will recall that at the talks on central Europe the demand for a reduction of troops (not of armaments) was pivotal to NATO's position for a decade and a half. Neither is it easy to understand what sort of a reduction in the military confrontation can there be without cutting down on the numerical strength of the troops which is the chief component of military might.

Secondly, NATO's proposals deliberately narrow down the set of the destabilizing categories of arms subject to reductions. They speak only of those categories in which the edge is with the Warsaw Treaty (tanks, artillery pieces and armoured vehicles) and omit the categories in which the advantage clearly lies with NATO (including the strike aircraft and combat helicopters). But this is a far cry from what is provided for in the mandate for the talks, and does not resolve the surprise attack issue. Thirdly, the NATO countries regard as unacceptable the Warsaw Treaty proposal to create strips (zones) of a reduced level of armaments along the line of contact between the two military-political alliances. Western officials insist that this would lead to the creation of zones of differing degree of security. In actual fact, however, one is faced here with something quite different, namely a reluctance to give up the "forward-based defenses" policy.

And lastly, the two sets of proposals also differ in scope, the degree of detailing and the timings. The three-stage pattern of reductions as proposed by the Warsaw Treaty countries is strictly precise timewise and the implementation of the third stage measures must result in restructuring the respective groups of the armed forces in a manner endowing them with a strictly defensive character. NATO's proposals, for their part, are all confined solely to reductions in the three above-mentioned categories of armaments without any indication of a time scale. And for some vague reason the task of rearranging the armed forces to impart to them a purely defensive structure is consigned to the class of "long-term" [passage indistinct]

Secretary Cheney Cited on Need for 'Vigilance'

PM3003140989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS dispatch: "R. Cheney Specifies Tasks"]

[Text] Washington, 29 Mar—U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney has expressed himself in favor of reaching agreements on reducing conventional forces and arms in Europe, and also the arsenals of strategic weapons. In an interview with the country's four leading TV companies he stated: "I believe that we must develop very vigorously diplomatic initiatives concerning talks about reducing conventional arms and possible agreements on strategic arms. I think that now is a good time to aim for such goals."

Their attainment, in the defense secretary's opinion, would provide an opportunity to reduce the number of U.S. Armed Forces, which is regarded as one way to reduce the country's military expenditure. "But until we obtain some results in this sphere, I do not think that we can unilaterally reduce our combat readiness," Cheney stressed. "Abroad generally and among our allies," he said, "the opinion prevails that the 'cold war' has ended, there is no prospect of a conflict, and that we can relax our vigilance. I think that it is premature for us to draw such conclusions."

The defense secretary confirmed that by mid-April he must present to President Bush proposals for cutting U.S. military expenditure requirements by $6.3 billion in fiscal 1990, which begins 1 October.

NATO's Galvin Argues for Nuclear Modernization

PM2903133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Yevgeniy Grigoryev dispatch under the rubric "Correspondents Comment": "'Galvin's Triad'"]

[Text] Bonn, 27 Mar—NATO military-political circles would appear to have begun their "spring offensive." They are bent on so-called modernization of the bloc's nuclear potential. The starting signal was given by an article by General John Galvin, supreme allied commander Europe, published in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE the other day.

The American general stated: "We need not only powerful nuclear arms, but also a demonstrable readiness to use those weapons." Here he urged complete renewal of the NATO nuclear tactical armaments "triad": surface-to-surface missiles, air-to-surface missiles, and artillery.

The main concern of NATO Headquarters is to "bring round" the allies, above all the FRG, and solve the question of replacing Lance nuclear missiles (which are currently, as the NATO supreme commander acknowledges, "undergoing modernization") with a new nuclear missile system of greater range and accuracy. The artillery systems should receive "modern combat charges," while the air forces should receive an air-to-surface missile with a 400km range.

All this, the NATO supreme commander maintains, is an indispensable condition for ensuring the strategy of deterrence and flexible response. The general speaks of the need to "deploy nuclear arms of flexible application in Europe" so that NATO may use them to "respond to potential Warsaw Pact attack."

One wonders on what planet those who think that way live? Everyone knows that the reduction of armed forces currently under way in Warsaw Pact countries is imbuing them with a purely defensive character and rules out the possibility of any attack on West Europe. In the FRG the image of the enemy and the "threat from the East" are rejected by around 80 percent of the population, with a figure of around 90 percent among the young. But Galvin and those who think like him are clearly devoid of the ability to "respond flexibly" to the challenge of the times, the changing circumstances, and the positive trends of international development.

Galvin tries above all to give his arguments a military-technical justification. In his opinion, longer-range missiles could be secreted farther away from the "front line" and it would be easier with them to "penetrate the air defense shield of the Warsaw Pact and effectively attack important targets deep inside its combat zone." Such NATO premises have nothing to do with defensive tasks; rather, the contrary.

Stepping on thin ice, Galvin assures people that "modernization" would not mean bypassing the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. However, it is no secret to anyone in Europe that the "modernization" plans run counter to the whole logic of that historic document.

People can write what they like, of course, but General Galvin's arguments are scarcely capable of exerting a serious influence on the mood in the FRG, for example, where a negative attitude toward nuclear upgrading plans has become a notable factor of political life. But it may be supposed that NATO Headquarters will not let up in its attempts to execute these dangerous plans. It is probable that the closer the NATO summit meeting comes, the more vigorous NATO propaganda will become.

Concern Over NATO Moves To Replace Lance

PM3103081189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin under the rubric "Military-Political Commentary": "Trial Balloon? No, Real Step"]

[Text] The report that a NATO working organ succeeded at its session in adopting a document concerning the development of tactical nuclear weapons to replace the Lance missiles went almost unnoticed in the flood of information. The NATO manner of presenting news, which, let us note, is clearly worked out for instances of this kind, contributed a great deal to this. Nothing special has happened, they said; a working agreement, so to speak, has merely been reached on the theoretical possibility of starting development, and all this has to be discussed, weighed, and ratified....

The statement made by an FRG Foreign Ministry spokesman, who called the desire to categorize the agreed document as a compromise decision "unfounded," was quite typical in this respect. Ostensibly there were neither decisions nor compromises, since the working group is not vested with such powers. Its task is to give its views for consideration in the preparation of decisions at a higher level. In this connection there is no reason for the premature excitement which some people are trying to stir up in public circles opposed to modernization.

Indeed, as regards the level at which the document has been adopted, it really cannot be regarded as sufficient for the matter to be regarded as settled. It is by no means the highest authority. But it is not a trifling matter, either. It is a very real step forward on the path toward modernizing tactical nuclear weapons. And it was taken not by just anybody, but by official representatives of the defense ministries of the NATO states, that is, by people who are called representatives precisely because they represent their countries' specific plenipotentiary organs in Brussels.

What is important for the supporters of modernization in this case? The important point is that it is not "considerations," not outlines and options, but a finished document which will be placed before the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, which will meet in session 19-20 April. And any document evokes a corresponding attitude. So specialists are in no doubt that the Nuclear Planning Group will approve the document and will present it for ratification at the NATO Council's May session.

In an obvious attempt to reassure the public, which quite rightly sees the replacement of the Lance missile with a more modern nuclear weapon as an increase in military preparations, the NATO-ites are focusing attention on the fact that the document still does not envisage any timetable concerning the deployment of new systems in Europe, and that this deployment, on the contrary, is being postponed indefinitely. Such is its "military cunning." An obvious ploy. It is well-known that there is as yet nothing to deploy. But when the output is produced, the question of its further use will inevitably arise. Especially as the new systems have a specific purpose: The nuclear missiles that are being created, whose range is being increased from 100 to 480 km, will significantly enhance potential for implementing the bloc's general concept of "flexible response."

What logic guides NATO, which is about to take another step in the direction of increasing its nuclear missile potential? The logic is this: The process of disarmament, so it turns out, can proceed independently, and the process of armament can proceed independently. Therefore, there is no obstacle to those who intend to further increase the potential for confrontation and military force. Unfortunately, this is still the reality.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing

U.S. Criticized on Europe Policy

LD3003171589 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's interview to the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES, devoted to Europe, has not been overlooked in the Soviet Union, said Vadim Perfilyev, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry. High representatives of the American Administration have lately been speaking more frequently about Europe.

"The enhanced interest in that topic is, in our opinions, normal. The Soviet foreign policy, as tradition has it, attaches a special, largely 'privileged' significance to European policy. We expect Mikhail Gorbachev's planned visits to European countries to lend a fresh impetus to the development of all-round cooperation and consolidation of mutual confidence on the European Continent, and even more enhance the role of Europe as a factor of stability in the world," he said.

Proceeding from such a vision of Europe's mission in the present-day world, the Soviet Union has put forward the "all-European home" concept which is enlisting ever broader support from European leaders and the public, Vadim Perfilyev said.

But, unfortunatley, in the American press they view our interest in that idea as a mythical striving "to drive a wedge" between Western Europe and the United States, to oust the United States from Europe. "It is well known that we have no such intentions. One is witnessing here an attempt of certain U.S. circles to interfere in the internal development of East European countries where stormy and dynamic processes are now taking place. They are not the same everywhere, but we support them, since we are confident that these processes benefit East European people , and promote restructuring of inter-state relations on the principles of new political thinking".

The attempts to revive the deliberate "Europe division" thesis, to call in question the historical choice made by the peoples of the East European countries are giving rise to serious anxiety, said the Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman. "Any talk about East Europe being 'a flash point of crisis' and about the peoples of the region being themselves unable to solve their problems, and the more so the discourse on some deals that have allegedly been struck in the spirit of 'division of spheres of influence' are running counter to such fundamental principles of international relations, as the freedom of choice and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

Any attempts to use in one's interests the difficulties experienced by other countries, to impose upon them one's recipes for decisions are nothing but a relapse of old thinking. "Such attempts are contrary to the main trends of development in Europe, and are therefore devoid of prospects," Vadim Perfilyev said.

Denies Soviet Troops in Afghanistan

LD3003131889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1212 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow 30 Mar (TASS)—There is a rumor being spread alleging that Soviet soldiers remain in Afghanistan. However, this is an outright fabrication, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, here today. He was commenting on the words of Muhammad Yunis Khalis, leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," who according to reports from Kabul has announced his intention to bring several captive Soviet soldiers to Nangarhar, kill them, and then show [their bodies] to Western journalists as evidence of the participation of Soviet troops in combat operations near Jalalabad.

In connection with this report, Vadim Perfilyev continued, the Information Directorate asked for comment from the headquarters of the USSR Armed Forces, which said: "The General Headquarters of the USSR Armed Forces states with all due responsibility that after 15 February 1989 not a single Soviet soldier remained in Afghanistan. The entire contingent of Soviet troops was withdrawn from the country in strict accordance with the Geneva accords."

Thus, the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry stressed, fabrications about Soviet soldiers allegedly remaining in Afghanistan seem to be intended to provide at least some justification for the mujahidin operations aimed at siezing Jalalabad and for all those who stand behind them trying to thwart the process for a peaceful settlement. "Such attempts are dishonest and unseemly."

Urges UN Meeting on Afghanistan

LD3003143989 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The Soviet Union wholly supports the Afghan Government's idea of a Security Council meeting to review the fulfilment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking here at a briefing.

"The Soviet Union deems it essential for the United Nations to give practical assistance with organising regular meetings between representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan, as envisaged by the agreements signed in Geneva.

"At the same time, we draw serious attention to the need to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of United Nations monitoring machinery (UNGOMAP) and set up permanent monitoring points on the Afghan-Pakistani border," he said.

Perfilyev said that the Soviet side, in its contacts with the leadership of the U.N. Secretariat, has been actively promoting the idea of an international conference on Afghanistan.

Meetings of experts or a working group to exchange opinions on an Afghan settlement could be a first step to convening this conference, according to the spokesman.

He said that representatives of main Afghan forces, Afghanistan's immediate neighbours and the guarantors of the Geneva agreements could attend such meetings, held under the aegis of a representative of the U.N. secretary-general.

"We also call on the U.N. to consider facilitating the return of Afghan refugees by forming a mixed commission involving Afghanistan, Pakistan, the U.N. secretary-general and the office of the U.N. high commissioner for refugees," Perfilyev went on.

The Soviet side is seeking to impel Pakistan and the United States, which have signed the Geneva agreements, to strictly observe their letter and spirit.

"Regrettably, our constructive line has not drawn an adequate response either from Islamabad or from Washington. The negative U.S. attitude to the idea of a Security Council meeting to review the fulfilment of the Geneva agreements can only be regretted.

"Attempts by the United States, which is a guarantor of these agreements, to evade a public discussion of the Afghan issue at the United Nations cannot be seen as anything other than an admission by the U.S. of its inabilty to defend its real role in Afghan affairs 'with its visor open'," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman declared.

He stressed that there can be no double standards whereby one side would be meticulously and unfailingly complying with all agreements, while the other would be openly flouting them.

"It is perfectly clear that the flouting of these agreements sours prospects for settling other regional conflicts and undermines the key element of any agreement—the element of trust," Perfilyev said.

Criticizes Howe's Afghan Remarks

LD3003170789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1306 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 30 April [date as received], (TASS)—Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, at a briefing here today said that the USSR had taken notice of the statement by Geoffrey Howe, UK foreign secretary, on his arrival in the capital of Pakistan. He spoke out in support of the "liberation struggle of the people of Afghanistan" and of Pakistan's "staunch defense" of Afghan independence.

In what, Perfilyev continued, does the British minister see this "staunch defense" of Afghan independence? "In the participation of armed Pakistani tribal militia units in combat operations in Afghanistan on the side of the opposition? Or in the Pakistani side's unceasing whipping up of military tension in the border provinces of Afghanistan? Perhaps in the support, unprecedented in scale, of the extremist part of the armed opposition with military equipment and ammunition in order to wreck a peaceful Afghan settlement on the path of national reconciliation."

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized that "its contribution to an Afghan political settlement, the adherence to which the British Government has repeatedly stated, must not be declarations which are instigatory in their essence, but practical assistance to the strict observance of the Geneva accords and an internal Afghan dialogue."

Updates Afghanistan Situation

LD3003200889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] A briefing was held for Soviet and foreign journalists on current issues in international politics at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry on 30 March. Comrade Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, spoke at the briefing. He said, among other things:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] And now about the military and political situation in Afghanistan. It remains complex. Tension is especially great in the Province of Nangarhar, where despite great losses, the insurgents have failed to abandon their plans to seize Jalalabad and the Jalalabad airport. They have not carried out any active offensives over the past 48 hours although they have continued to shell the city and the airport. As a result, 9 inhabitants have been killed and 25 have been wounded. Fifteen residential houses have been destroyed, and during the same period, additional reinforcements were brought into Jalalabad.

A major Khalis formation under the command of the ringleader Rozuddin has arrived in Samar Kheyl from Pakistan. There are five foreign advisers in the detachment. According to the evidence provided by knowledgeable sources of the Republic of Afghanistan, 1,200 Pakistani military servicemen clad in Afghan national clothes are currently in the midst of the insurgent combat ranks near Jalalabad. Over the past 48 hours, the actions of the government's air force have been hampered by unfavorable weather. However, the insurgents have suffered 137 deaths and 56 injuries as a result of artillery fire.

The personnel of the Internal Affairs Ministry have carried out a counteroffensive as a result of which the two security posts previously seized by the enemy were recaptured. Sixteen extremists have been killed, and a tank, weapons, and a considerable amount of ammunition have been seized.

The situation remains complex in Salang, where the enemy still holds two security posts in the area of Khenjan, thereby hampering traffic along the Hayratan-Kabul road. During several days, as a result of active forestalling actions by a subunit of the Defense Ministry, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the Ministry of State Security of the Republic of Afghanistan, the attempts of the insurgents to shell Kabul with rocket missiles have been foiled. [end recording]

Envoy on UN 'Responsibility' for Afghanistan

LD3003115489 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

Soviet U.N. Ambassador Aleksandr Belonogov urged the United Nations to realise its "special responsibility for preventing the escalation of military actions in Afghanistan and its possible spillover into a regional conflict fraught with unforeseen dangers".

At a news conference held at the U.N. Headquarters on Wednesday, he pointed to a disquieting deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan, caused by gross violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan, and by the refusal of the irreconcilable opposition to embark on the road of peaceful settlement of the conflict.

He said it is a duty of the international community to call violators of the Geneva accords to order and compel them to observe all the obligations Pakistan assumed in Geneva. Violations of the Geneva accords have a distinct negative effect on the international climate, cast a shadow on the prospects of settling other regional conflicts.

A realistic programme of achieving a comprehensive Afghan settlement was set out by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in his address to the U.N. General Assembly, the Soviet ambassador pointed out. All Soviet proposals, including the idea of an international conference on Afghanistan, remain on the agenda.

Belonogov said that at its 43rd session the U.N. General Assembly "unequivocally instructed the U.N. secretary general to take active measures to assist Afghan political groups in setting up a broadly-based government".

"The role of the United Nations and its agencies in rendering humanitarian assistance to the Afghan population is also important," he continued.

Under the present-day circumstances, he said, the U.N. Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) has to react in a much more efficient manner to the evolving Afghan situation.

"For the U.N. control mechanism to be able to perform its functions, it is necessary, as it was proposed by Afghan President Najibullah, to set up permanent points for UNGOMAP on the Afghan-Pakistani border, above all in Towr Kham where the road to Jalalabad starts."

"It is high time to implement the relevant provisions of the Geneva accords on organising, with the assistance of the U.N. secretary general, regular meetings between representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan for looking into facts of violations and working out mutually acceptable solutions.

"We do not also exclude that in the conditions of continuing violations of the Geneva accords a meeting of the Security Council that would look into implementation of these accords could prove to be useful."

Belonogov pointed out that "now when the trend to increase the peace-making role of the United Nations in the settlement of regional conflicts is gaining momentum, there is all the more reason for this organization to be more actively involved in facilitating a peaceful solution of the Afghan problem".

"Steps made in this direction would strengthen the well-deserved prestige of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security," the Soviet ambassador said.

* West European Military Integration Viewed

WA18010466 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by V. Pustov: "With Downcast Eyes"]

[Text] These days in the West one does not frequently encounter those who will look you straight in the eye, as it were, and speak against reduction of the level of military confrontation on our continent. It is a different matter when it comes to those circles that are not ready to reduce the arms race, placing their hopes in military strength, who speak with downcast eyes behind which they strive to conceal their militaristic ambitions.

Is this not what was demonstrated by the majority of deputies of the European Parliament when they approved the recent appeals to the European Economic Community (EEC) to devote themselves completely to questions of defense and the appeals to the West European Union (WEU) to create a "European support for NATO?" More concretely, we are speaking about developing within the framework of the EEC and the WEU a joint military policy, forced military integration, the creation of a "common market for arms," and so forth. As if in support of these ideas they speak of reducing the imbalance of armed forces and arms between the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and also the establishment of a "real partnership" with the United States.

Thus, the European parliamentarians, essentially for the first time, did not simply discuss the fundamental issues of military policy, but also spoke about the majority of them in a spirit that in no way corresponds to the process of further improvement of the situation in Europe that is currently in progress. This, as if they did not know that in Vienna there are important negotiations between the countries of the two military alliances concerning the reduction of conventional armed forces and confidence-building measures.

The relatively tight military integration in the West European countries did not end with discussions. Certain steps are also being taken in this direction. France and the FRG, for example, have created a joint defense council and they are forming a joint brigade consisting of 4,200 men. These countries are cooperating more in the creation of new arms and military equipment.

Bonn is striving for active military cooperation with other European NATO countries as well. Thus it intends to form within this framework the "European" multinational division numbering 15,000 and consisting of units and subunits of the FRG, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

Deputies of the European Parliament, one must assume, taking into account the anti-nuclear attitudes of the West European public, refused to discuss the question of "modernization" of the NATO tactical nuclear weapons. But this dangerous caprice is not ruled out by its influential supporters on both sides of the Atlantic, especially in Washington, London, and the NATO staff headquarters. Incidentally, they are making themselves known in the FRG as well, where even the government, for a number of reasons, is in no hurry in this matter to make a decision that is unpopular among the population.

For example, the Inspector General of the Bundeswehr Adm D. Bellershof cannot conceal his attraction to nuclear weapons. In a circular stamped "For Official Use" he, according to a report in the magazine STERN, recommends replacing the destroyed American Pershings and cruise missiles by "changing over to other nuclear weapons." Nor does the admiral wish to refrain from cultivating the "image of the enemy." Here is how he relays to his subordinates the results of the USSR peace initiative: "The threat has actually increased even though the feeling of being threatened has weakened."

This clever thesis essentially lies at the basis of the appeal of the European Parliament to create a "European support for NATO." It, in turn, is to equalize the desire of the West European countries to solve the problems that exist in their partnership with the leading power of the bloc—the United States. Far from everything is going smoothly there. In Washington they can hardly have complete confidence in the desire of the European allies, on the basis of economic, political, and military integration, to acquire "additional weight" in international affairs, including in relations with the United States. They also take something else into account there. "The Bush administration," a group of State Department analysts writes in the THE WASHINGTON POST, "is uneasy about the fact that people in Europe are becoming more and more enthusiastic about Mikhail Gorbachev. It should experience the same uneasiness from the growing wave of anti-imperialist sentiment in Europe...." It seems that the ones bothered by all this are the same circles that do not wish to let go of the policy "from a position of strength."

UN Official Visits Moscow for 'Consultations'

PM3003135389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Consultations with UN Under Secretary General R. Ahmed were held in the USSR Foreign Ministry 27-28 March. A number of topical problems of the international situation and UN activity were examined in the course of the consultations. Special attention was devoted to the current state and prospects of settlement of the situation around Cambodia and the stepping up of the UN role in untangling crisis situations and conflicts.

R. Ahmed was received by V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and by CEMA Secretary V.V. Sychev. R. Ahmed met representatives of Soviet public organizations in the UN Information Center in Moscow.

United States & Canada

U.S. Charge Gives Shevardnadze Note From Bush

LD3003172289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister, today in Moscow received J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim at the latter's request. The U.S. diplomat conveyed a personal message from U.S. President George Bush addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

U.S. Trade Consortium Heads Continue Visit

Meet With Ryzhkov

LD3003132689 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov met heads of an American trade consortium today in the Kremlin. The consortium was set up in the United States by several major companies to boost trade and economic links with the USSR. The delegation arrived in Moscow to sign a general trade agreement with the Soviet foreign economic consortium.

A talk was held between Ryzhkov and heads of the American consortium, during which they constructively discussed, in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, the state and prospects for trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the United States.

General satisfaction was expressed with the completion of an important stage in creating a contractual and legal foundation for forming a whole group of joint ventures to involve such well-known American companies as Chevron, ADM, Eastman Kodak, Johnson and Johnson, Nabisco, and Mercator. Their partners are Soviet enterprises, ministries and organisations which are incorporated into the Soviet foreign economic consortium.

The prime minister noted that the conclusion of the general agreement will serve to accelerate Soviet-U.S. business links and help bilateral economic cooperation accomplish not only current but also long-term tasks.

Foreign economic activity is undoubtedly being dramatically intensified in the Soviet Union, although not everything always goes smoothly in view of the patchy experience of Soviet enterprises and organisations. However, observers are confident that these problems will be overcome.

Both the prime minister and the delegation members expressed conviction that the improvement of political relations between the two countries as well as the sweeping economic reform in the USSR and military conversion will create increasingly favourable opportunities for further expanding business contacts, including their new forms.

At the same time, economic links are becoming an increasingly important element of the stability of Soviet-U.S. relations. It is important, however, constantly to work on clearing all kinds of artificial restrictions and impediments.

In view of this, both sides noted the constructive role of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council (USTEC) which is preparing to hold its regular annual session to discuss many practical issues of the development of trade and economic coopertation.

Use of Convertible Currency Okayed

LD3003184289 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The general agreement on cooperation, signed by the Soviet Foreign trade consortium and the American trade consortium on Thursday, [30 March] has marked a major step towards establishing long-term and mutually beneficial business ties between the USSR and the United States, newsmen were told at a press conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry today.

Relations between the two consortiums rest on a principle that enables the participants to use both convertible currency and the rouble in reciprocal dealings.

The document, signed in the Kremlin today, defines the possibility of exporting profits gained by American joint-venture partners in hard currency and fixes other financial, legal and administrative principles for mutual cooperation.

The agreement will help speed up negotiations on establishing more than 25 joint ventures in such areas as oil production and export, power engineering, agriculture, food production and medical industry, said the chairman of the Soviet consortium, Vladimir Drovosekov.

He observed that all the projects will fully comply with the two countries' laws. In the event of their successful implementation, the value of capital investment during the period of twenty years the general agreement will remain in effect will amount to five-ten billion roubles.

The first joint venture will be able to start production within 18 months, Drovosekov said.

Seven corporations were the original members of the American trade consortium. One, Ford, refused to take part in projects on Soviet territory.

The remaining, ADM, Nabisco, Chevron, Johnson and Johnson, Eastman Kodak and Mercator, will continue work.

Speakers at the news conference made it clear that despite Ford's withdrawal they had not given up major automobile projects.

"A holy place is never vacant," quipped Drovosekov.

U.S. Intelligence Role, Spending Viewed

PM3103100989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[D. Semenov "Commentary on Dollar Statistics" under the rubric "At Your Request": "Black Budget"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "I have read that a lot of money in the U.S. budget is spent on the activities of the intelligence community. Could you describe what this community is like and say what the money goes to?—V. Zhuravlev, Moscow."

We have all heard of the widely known and frequently notorious U.S. Central Intelligence Agency—or CIA, for short. This is U.S. intelligence. But it is not the whole of intelligence. It turns out that all more or less important U.S. departments have acquired their own intelligence services. And all these services come under a ramified system officially called the U.S. intelligence community.

It includes, above all, the aforementioned CIA, the National Security Agency, the National Aerospace Intelligence Bureau, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the intelligence services of the individual categories of the military. It also embraces the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the State Department Intelligence and Research Bureau, as well as the intelligence subdepartments of the Treasury and the Department of Commerce.

The special services do not like to speak about themselves. Therefore you will not find in official U.S. publications any full data on the size of appropriations to the intelligence community. All that is published is fragmentary, chance information on some funds spent on constructing buildings, on material and technical equipment for intelligence, and so forth.

But an analysis of even this disparate information enables Western researchers to draw certain conclusions, particularly with regard to the fact that the special services cost the U.S. taxpayer a sizable sum, which tends to grow constantly. Thus, whereas in 1979 the community's budget totaled $10 billion, in 1987 it had increased to $25 billion.

Fulfilling the promise he had given voters in 1980 to restore "the former strength of the U.S. intelligence community," former U.S. President Reagan declared in 1981: "The country needs the help of intelligence, and we are ready to allocate any resources to ensure that intelligence fulfills its work well..." And in Reagan's first years in power the U.S. Congress approved average annual increases of 20 percent in appropriations for the CIA.

But $25 billion is not the whole sum used for intelligence activities. The point is that the special services, in addition to their own budget, also use funds the U.S. Congress allocates under budget headings not formally connected with intelligence activity. These additional appropriations are hidden under other departments' budgets. Thus, for example, when the Church Senate committee was investigating U.S. intelligence activities in the mid-seventies, it established that the CIA spent 70 percent more funds than had been allocated to it in the budget. It turned out that the increase came, above all, from Defense Department appropriations. These constitute the Pentagon's so-called "black budget" and, according to some data, are close to $28 billion.

This means that if you count up all spending on the U.S. intelligence community, it will total more than $60 billion.

The intelligence community spends a considerable part of the funds on providing its subdivisions with special means created on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements. A plan has been drawn up through the year 2000 for the retooling of the intelligence services.

Serious attention is devoted to providing U.S. intelligence with a most advanced computer base. In their activities the CIA and other intelligence services make extensive use of personal computers in conjunction with data banks that are well equipped in the scientific and technical respect. U.S. intelligence organs are being intensively equipped with superfast computers, which are used not only to improve information recording, processing, and retrieval, but also to resolve purely operational intelligence tasks.

Large sums are spent on creating listening devices, including radio monitoring facilities installed on satellites. Considerable sums are allocated to the production of psychotropic and other medical preparations used by the U.S. special services.

As we have already said, all information concerning appropriations for the intelligence community's activities is strictly classified. And under the law, "in the interests of ensuring the security of intelligence activity," the community's leaders are freed from the duty to report in detail on their operational expenditures to state financial control organs. Even though the U.S. Congress is formally entrusted with controlling the procedure for spending funds on intelligence activity, in a number of instances the community's leaders have, on the pretext of ensuring secrecy, refused to provide Congress with information on particular questions, including financial ones. From the press we know of numerous cases of illegal activities by the U.S. special services, particularly the CIA and the FBI, which their leaders have attempted to conceal from the public.

Which tasks are fulfilled by the various departments that constitute the U.S. intelligence community?

A special and, you could say, the key place in the intelligence community is allocated to the CIA. According to some data, the agency employs approximately 20,000 staffers. It has a ramified network of resident agents throughout the world. The chief task of CIA staffers is to gather intelligence information on very diverse issues, that is, classic espionage directed primarily against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In addition to gathering and analyzing intelligence data, the CIA also carries out so-called "special operations." Over the 40 years of its existence the CIA has conducted thousands of secret operations against governments, public movements, and individual politicians and statesmen.

Recently U.S. intelligence has not only not been curtailing its activity against the USSR and other socialist countries but, on the contrary, has been stepping it up in every possible way and trying to use the processes taking place in the course of restructuring in its own interests.

The NSA deals in intelligence with the help of technical means. It monitors telephone conversations and radio and telex transmissions of reports by foreign states, breaks foreign codes and ciphers, and analyzes all kinds of radio signals and other emissions for the purpose of obtaining intelligence information. The NSA supplies the whole intelligence community with the data obtained.

The DIA gathers and analyzes data on the military potential of foreign states—the socialist states above all, of course.

The FBI deals with the criminal cases within its competence, as well as tailing foreigners on U.S. territory and carrying out surveillance of "politically unreliable" Americans. Very diverse data on tens of millions of Americans is stored in its computer files.

Together with the CIA, the FBI plays a particularly active role in fueling an atmosphere of spy mania in the country directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Despite a certain warming in Soviet-U.S. relations, the U.S. intelligence community has no intention of limiting its activity. And official statements by the community's leaders bear this out.

In a program speech on 30 October last year, CIA Director W. Webster emphasized: "The Soviet Union will remain the main area of our activity in gathering and analyzing intelligence information in the nineties."

U.S. Rejection of Afghan Peace Efforts Decried

LD3103093989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Boris Andrianov commentary from the "International Diary" program; presented by Igor Surguchev]

[Excerpts] [Surguchev] The United States has made another move against Afghan President Najibullah's attempts to promote national reconciliation and end the fratricidal war in that country. At the briefings at the U.S. State Department, spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler described the Afghan head of state's new initiatives as an attempt to divide the Afghan resistance and said Wasington will continue supporting the Afghan struggle for self-determination. She evaded immediately answering the question of how, indeed, the United States will render military aid to the irreconcilable Afghan opposition via Pakistani territory if this is a direct violation of the Geneva agreements.

Outlining the official U.S. position, the State Department spokesperson spoke against the proposal to convene the UN Security Council to examine violations of the Geneva agreements. She also rejected the proposal to expand the activities of the United Nations in the area of monitoring the pledges contained in these documents. Without offering any reasons on this score, Tutwiler confined herself to merely reading the State Department statement that had been prepared beforehand. Without citing any evidence, it asserted that there is no need whatsoever to accept the proposals. I now ask my colleague, commentator Boris Andrianov, to express his view on the subject and I give him the microphone.

[Andrianov] The U.S. newspaper THE WALL STREET JOURNAL recently had an article by its correspondent who had visited eastern Afghanistan, the area under the control of the armed opposition. The author of this article does not hide the fact that many Afghan insurgents are tired of bloodshed and would like just one thing: peace. A member of the mujahidin named (Sarvar) told the U.S. journalist directly and frankly that he wants the war to end and for talks to be held with the Afghan Government. In addition, he said the Afghan people may vanish from the face of the earth if the United States continues its policy in relation to his country—using the favors of Pakistan. In my view, this mujahidin member has said a great deal, outlining in particular a rather definite attitude toward Washington's intention to continue the fratricide in Afghanistan; in other words, as they say, to fight to the last Afghan. The true Afghan patriots reject outright this prospect for genocide. They believe that it is time to end the war and bloodshed in Afghanistan.

It is precisely this noble goal that has been named the main task in the peace initiative advanced by President Najibullah. He addressed the field commanders of the opposition groups within Afghanistan, rather than the leaders of the irreconcilables in the trenches of Pakistan, where they hastily put together their so-called government. The Afghan head of state has proposed abandoning the idea of settling questions by force of arms; instead, he proposes negotiations so Afghans can live in a united and peaceful country. [passage omitted] Then the mujahidin will be allowed to keep their weapons and elect local authorities in their constituencies, and these authorities' decisions will be respected by Kabul. [passage omitted]

As is quite clear, this is not at all what Washington wants for Afghanistan. This is why the State Department spokesperson hurried to distort the genuine aims pursued by Najibullah's new initiative, having presented it as an attempt to divide the Afghan resistance. Somehow, things are not going too well regarding the U.S. Administration's claim that there is no need for the UN Security Council to examine the situation in Afghanistan or—to be more exact—for it to examine Pakistan's violations of the Geneva agreements. It is hardly possible to detect any logic or common sense in the behavior of Washington which, as reported, intends to break off diplomatic relations with Afghanistan and, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, accredit its ambassador to the irreconcilable opposition's camp. This is being done by the United States even though it is supposed to be a guarantor of the Geneva accords, signed by the lawful government of the Republic of Afghanistan. I cannot help wondering whether the U.S. Administration believes that the signature of an official U.S. representative on the Geneva agreements obliges it to do to anything. After all, disrespect for this kind of international document can always lead to a backlash from the world community, with all the far-reaching consequences that can entail.

Brzezinski Pessimism on Reforms Criticized

LD3003153589 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Commentary by political analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

"Positive changes in the USSR are irreversible" seems to be consensus of most stories about Soviet perestroyka in the foreign press.

Commenting on the results of the latest general elections in the Soviet Union, prominent politicians and experts in Soviet studies agree: Socialism has confirmed that it has enough vitality and potential for renewal and progress, including healthy forces which have a strong sense of responsibility and are aware of not only the complexity of problems but also of how they can and should be resolved.

But accents in Western propaganda have lately begun to shift as some quarters have been busy issuing most pessimistic forecasts concerning Soviet perestroyka.

One of the latest examples is Zbigniew Brzezinski's interview with the Italian magazine PANORAMA, in which he predicted that Soviet perestroyka will fail.

He didn't bother to offer any arguments and proof to support the point, limiting himself to groundless claims about a "demise" of communist theory.

This kind of rhetoric doesn't provide any basis for serious, businesslike and constructive discussions on the ways, real difficulties and prospects of Soviet perestroyka.

It prompts one question, though, namely: What is their aim?

The answer is unequivocal. Soviet perestroyka, meaning a renewal and enhancement of socialism, is also leading to far-reaching positive changes on the international scene.

The risk of outbreak of war is declining, international tension is gradually giving way to cooperation and trust, and real possibilities are emerging for radical disarmament and conversion steps.

This turn of events, however, appears to go against the grain of Western circles contending, with a stubbornness worthy of a better cause, that "cold war" is not yet over and calculating, with unconcealed [word indistinct] to them by the curtailment of the munitions industry.

Brzezinski, whose ultra-conservative, anti-communist posturing is an open secret, expressed the sentiments of these circles in his interview.

While carrying it, PANORAMA reported the publication of another book by Brzezinski in the United States, in which he asserted that "the Soviet system is on its ultimate lap".

If PANORAMA editors sift through the issues of THE NEW YORK TIMES for 1918, they will see at once that predictions of "socialism's collapse" were numerous even then, right after the triumphant socialist revolution in Russia.

Many more followed during the subsequent 70-odd years—only to be debunked by life itself.

So Brzezinski's exercise in predicting "socialism's last breath" is nothing more than a rehash of old, bankrupt misconceptions.

The same applies in principle to the latest pessimism about the fate of Soviet perestroyka.

To be sure, "paper can tolerate anything", as a Russian saying goes. But these totally unwarranted attempts to "bury" Soviet perestroyka, which are clearly aimed at hampering positive changes in the international arena, go to show once again how strong the intertia of the past is in the West and how deeply rooted anti-Sovietism is there.

China

Heilongjiang Delegation Begins RSFSR Visit

Met in Moscow by Vinogradov

PM2903134589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Developing Contacts"]

[Text] A delegation of the PRC's Heilongjiang Province External Relations Committee headed by Wang Yaochen, the committee's chairman, arrived in Moscow 27 March on an official visit at the invitation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Foreign Ministry.

The delegation was met at the airport by RSFSR Foreign Minister V.M. Vinogradov and other officials.

Talks were held at the RSFSR Foreign Ministry the same day. The possibilities of strengthening ties in various spheres between the Russian Federation and Heilongjiang Province were discussed.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that expanding Soviet-Chinese contacts serve the interests of both countries' peoples. It was emphasized that M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to the PRC will be of special significance for their further development.

In addition to Moscow, the guests will visit Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, and Bratsk.

The delegation also visited the RSFSR Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives. In the talks, chief attention was devoted to questions of developing ties between Soviet and Chinese cooperative members.

Heilongjiang-RSFSR Ties Discussed

PM3103114589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] Mutual interest in the expansion of cooperation in various spheres was shown by representatives of a number of ministries and departments of the RSFSR and a delegation of the Committee on Foreign Ties from Heilongjiang Province in the PRC, which arrived in Moscow the day before at the invitation of the RSFSR Foreign Ministry. On 28 March the guests had conversations at the Federation's State Planning Committee, State Agro-Industrial Committee, and Ministry of the River Fleet.

It was noted that Soviet-Chinese border trade is developing successfully in the Far East region. Ways of expanding it were outlined. In particular, the exchange of consumer goods will increase.

The sides exchanged experience on economic and social planning. An accord was reached in principle on the exchange of delegations for the purposes of studying this question in greater depth. In view of the increase in commodity turnover between RSFSR oblasts and krays and Heilongjiang Province, the plan is to increase the handling capacity of various types of transport and, in particular, to expand the network of river freight reception centers.

Soviet-Chinese cooperation is also strengthening in agriculture. The sides exchanged opinions on opportunities for establishing direct ties between agricultural collectives in the Far East and Heilongjiang Province. An accord was reached on the exchange of seeds of various crops and breeds of livestock.

On the same day the Chinese delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

Heilongjiang's Wang Yaochen Comments

LD3003202489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] The delegation from the PRC Province of Heilongjiang, led by Wang Yaochen, director of the province' foreign affairs office and chairman of the provincial section of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society, is continuing its visit to the RSFSR. Our correspondent Garri Linnik asked him to talk about Heilongjiang Province' ties with the Soviet Union:

[Begin recording] [Wang, in Chinese fading into Linnik's report in Russian] Border trade between Heilongjiang Province and Soviet Far Eastern regions was restored in 1983, Wang Yaochen said. The trade turnover has risen 30 percent each year. It continued to grow in 1988, and now amounts to 550 million Swiss francs. Economic cooperation has also been developing in recent years. For instance, over 100 various contracts, including in the sphere of construction and utilization of the labor force, have already been signed between our province and the Far Eastern regions of the RSFSR. I think, Wang Yaochen continued, that our cooperation, both in the realm of trade and in the sphere of the economy, will continue to expand and deepen. We will also seek ways and forms of cooperation in other areas, such as education, culture, and others. This cooperation corresponds to both our countries' interests. We will advance further by taking account of mutual requirements.

There is a longstanding tradition of friendly ties between our countries and peoples, the head of the PRC delegation noted. This tradition reflects the PRC and Soviet peoples' fundamental interests and their desire for good cooperation. The full normalization of Sino-Soviet relations will occur, and interparty ties will be restored with Comrade Gorbachev's visit to the PRC. Then, our cooperation will deepen and expand even more in all areas. Reforms are going on in the Soviet Union and in China. We have something to learn from each other. On this basis, we will be able to more quickly advance toward the planned goals, Wang Yaochen said in conclusion. [end recording]

USSR-PRC Ties, Gorbachev Visit Assessed

Effect on Asia-Pacific Viewed

OW2903123289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Station commentator Solovyev commentary: "A Special Responsibility"; first installment of Solovyev series on the upcoming Sino-Soviet summit in May]

[Text] Dear listeners, in many parts of the world today, particularly in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, people are talking a lot about relations between the Soviet Union and China. The meeting between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping will take place in less than 2 months. This meeting will have a profound international significance. It will not only be an epoch-making event with regard to relations between the Soviet Union and China, but it will also be a motive force in improving the international situation, as all people have been expecting. What will be the meaning of these contacts between the Soviet Union and China to the promotion of peace in the Asia-Pacific region? Station commentator Solovyev will make a concrete analysis of this question in our program. His talk is entitled: "A Special Responsibility." What now follows is the script of his discussion:

Not long ago, I exchanged opinions with Adams, editor of the Australian paper THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. Adams said to me: We expect that the USSR-PRC summit will bring us fruitful results. The fate of peace in our region, to a great extent, depends on the activities of the Soviet Union and China and on their relations. His remarks are quite obvious. Yes, the Soviet Union and China today shoulder a great responsibility in protecting and strengthening peace in the Asia-Pacific region. I am convinced that this has the following three important reasons: First, the Soviet Union and China are two big socialist countries; second, the Soviet Union and China are two nuclear powers; and third, the Soviet Union and China are two of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the strained relations between the Soviet Union and China brought great damage to the cause of peace. It was not coincidental that politicians in the West staked their future on the continuous confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region, and openly considered the split in relations between the Soviet Union and China to be an advantage to them. Fortunately, all the past things today have gone. Both the Soviet Union and China have drawn lessons from the past.

The reason I have recalled the unhappy events in relations between the Soviet Union and China is to stress the special significance of the cause of peace in the Asia-Pacific region. Today, the two big socialist countries have all the necessary conditions for protecting and strengthening the cause of peace in the Asia-Pacific region through their mutual activities. This can be seen from the fact that Moscow and Beijing have made efforts to change from confrontation to cooperation and from contention to disarmament in order to improve international relations. The two countries have actively assisted the anti-nuclear forces in the Asia-Pacific countries. The Soviet Union and China are deeply convinced that regional conflicts, whatever the reason, can only be solved through political means. This conviction has become the foundation for friendship and cooperation and can promote a solution to the Cambodia issue.

Nuclear Arms Reduction Viewed

OW3003024889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Station commentator Solovyev commentary: "The Shared Concern"; second installment of Solovyev series on the upcoming Sino-Soviet summit in May]

[Text] The Soviet Union and China actually adopt identical, or very similar, positions on all issues concerning the safeguarding and consolidating of peace. By now this is already beyond doubt.

First, there is the nuclear arms reduction issue. Both Moscow and Beijing firmly believe that, in our times, there cannot and should not be any other alternative to this kind of arms reduction. Nuclear arms reduction should be the first priority in all our efforts to prevent war, for in the modern world, war will inevitably lead to the destruction of the whole human race. The Soviet Union and China share common ground, not only in their attitude and principles on the issue of preventing nuclear war, but also in their actions. Both nations have unilaterally pledged not to be the first to use nuclear arms under any circumstances. They urge other nations with nuclear arms to do the same. It is also important to note the consistency of the Soviet Union and China in their sharing the same position on the eventual goal of nuclear arms reduction and other issues during the process of nuclear arms reduction. Both Moscow and Beijing hold that the nuclear arms reduction undertaking must not be left unfinished. They are against even the retention of a small number of nuclear weapons. As everyone knows, some influential people in the West favor keeping a small number of nuclear arms.

Finally, I would like to direct your attention to a related matter. As everyone knows, the Chinese think the Soviet Union and the United States, the two countries with the most nuclear weapons, should take the lead. The Soviet Union agrees with this attitude. In December 1987, an incident of global historic significance happened, that is, the signing of the first Soviet-U.S. treaty on reducing nuclear arms. The treaty mandates the destruction of all the intermediate- and short-range missiles, including those deployed in Asia. Qian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister, called this a great contribution to the undertaking of nuclear weapons reduction. He expressed his conviction that this process, which is in keeping with the common aspirations of all human beings, will continue. The Soviets have the same firm belief.

Normalization With PRC Benefits Asia-Pacific

OW2903231689 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Station observer Barsov commentary: "Factor of Great Significance"]

[Text] Dear listeners, the date of Soviet leader Gorbachev's visit to China is getting closer. His visit is scheduled for 15 to 16 May. Judging from the newspapers' reactions and commentaries, the general public in the Asia-Pacific region have linked the improvement of the political atmosphere in the region and the entire world to the Soviet leader's visit to China. In this connection, station observer Barsov writes as follows:

First of all, Comrade Gorbachev's visit to China and his talks with China's top leaders will be a course for completing the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. We anticipate that the summit between the Soviet Union and China will favorably promote the development of cooperation between the two countries in various fields and lay a solid foundation for the establishment of good-neighborly relations.

Dear listeners, you would probably agree that a good relationship between the two largest countries with nuclear weapons in this region will certainly have a positive influence on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. In particular, we have already felt this influence. We must first point out that following the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and China, political mediation for regional conflicts will also be promoted. Talks on solving the Cambodia issue are being stepped up. The mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and China in the wake of the exchange of visits by the foreign ministers of the two countries will undoubtedly be helpful to solving the conflict in Cambodia. It seems that the parallel improvement of relations between China and Vietnam, like the improvement of relations between the ASEAN and Indochinese countries, will play a positive influence on the stability of the situation in Southeast Asia.

It merits attention that Soviet leader Gorbachev delivered a speech in Vladivostok in 1986 and another speech in Krasnoyarsk last year on insuring security in the Asia-Pacific region through joint efforts by all countries in the region. This is quite understandable because a large part of the Soviet Union's territory is in Asia.

In recent years, Chinese leaders have apparently increased their attention to the Asia-Pacific region. They have considered it a region politically and economically important to China. Therefore, Beijing holds that it is very important to cooperate with other countries in the region to turn the Pacific into an ocean of peace, friendship, and cooperation.

Countries in the Asia-Pacific region have highly praised the efforts made by the Soviet Union and China to insure peace and stability in the region. Both the Soviet Union and China have stated that they will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. Both of them support the treaty of turning the South Pacific into a zone without nuclear weapons. Both countries understand and support the desire of the ASEAN and Indochinese countries to establish a peaceful, free, neutral, and nonnuclear zone in Southeast Asia. Both countries support the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for eliminating nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula.

Countries in the Asia-Pacific region all know that the full normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China is conducive to solving various regional problems, including ecological problems and the establishment of fair economic relations.

Both the Soviet Union and China have stated that they do not plan to return to the relationship of the 1950's, nor do they want to return to the relationship of the 1960's and 1970's. In other words, our relations will be based on the present practical situation and the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of the other side, and of mutual respect for the interests, viewpoints, experiences and actual situation of the other side.

Dear listeners, you will agree that among those principles there is nothing that cannot be adopted by any country in the Asia-Pacific region in establishing and developing constructive relations.

PRC Farmers Hired To Work in Tuva, Far East

OW3003064889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] On our country's map, a new location for Soviet-Chinese cooperation has emerged. Representatives of the Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] have signed an agreement with Chinese representatives to employ more than 300 Chinese vegetable farmers. The farmers will begin work in the fields of the Tuva ASSR in April this year. Last year, the two countries made initial progress in labor cooperation. Now, a number of Chinese vegetable farmers and experts are working on farms and housing construction sites in other localities in the Far

East. More than 1,200 Chinese from China's Heilongjiang Province are now working in the Soviet Union. The cooperation will continue this year. It is expected that approximately 10,000 Chinese workers and experts will be sent to the Soviet Union to work there.

PRC-USSR Personal Computer Joint Venture

LD3003064689 Moscow TASS in English 0552 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Donetsk March 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Gertsenov:

Radiotechnik research-and-production amalgamation in the Ukrainian city of Donetsk has signed a series of agreements with Chinese partners to set up joint ventures in the Donetsk coal basin. This year the partners are going to offer for sale the first batch of personal computers manufactured by Soviet enterprises in cooperation with the Chinese firms Ben Fei, Zin Hai and Aviation Research Centre 706.

A Heiluzyan [name as received] company specialising in international technological and economic cooperation has pledged to provide equipment and build a large facility for the production of components. It has also agreed to build high rise housing and do other work in Donetsk, Makeyevka, and some other industrial centres of the basin.

The Soviet side will pay for Chinese equipment and services with Soviet goods including carpets, industrial equipment, chemical products and other [word indistinct] commodities.

The region has great potential for expanded relations with Chinese partners. Talks are nearing completion on setting up yet another joint venture in Donetsk that will specialise in mini-tractor manufacture.

Soviet Firms To Attend PRC Trade Exposition

OW3003020789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 26 Mar 89

[From special program: "Taking the Road of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we have reported that the international "In Search of Trading Partners" exposition will be held in Beijing in July this year, displaying the latest technologies, machinery, and equipment. Major companies from all countries of the world, including some 20 from the Soviet Union, will participate in the exposition. Today, we introduce a participating company called the All-Union Cartography Trading Company. (Izkuri), general manager of the company, is joining our broadcast today.

[(Izkuri), in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] In the international market, the All-Union Cartography Trading Company represents the Land Measurement and Cartography Bureau affiliated with the Soviet Council of Ministers. It has been active in the world market for more than 30 years. However, prior to 1987, all business dealings with foreign firms were handled through middlemen. The formation of the All-Union Cartography Trading Company has enabled the Land Measurement and Cartography Bureau under the Soviet Council of Ministers to deal with foreign trading partners independently. [passage omitted]

I would like to point out that the major export products of the All-Union Cartography Trading Company, such as aerospace pictures, are obtained by satellite some 30 km away from earth. The photographic equipment on the satellite can take pictures of objects 5 to 6 meters wide. [passage omitted]

Currently, the All-Union Cartography Trading Company is implementing long-term agreements with the United States, Australia, Japan, Finland, and some Arab states on promoting space products. Business ties with China have also improved recently.

The new stage of expanded cooperation between the All-Union Cartography Trading Company and Chinese companies interested in the company's products will be conducive to the international "In Search of Trading Partners" exposition, slated for July this year in Beijing. [end recording]

PRC Shows Market Mechanisms 'No Panacea'

PM2903133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Political Commentator's Notes": "China: Instructive Lessons"]

[Text] A routine session of the National People's Congress [NPC] is taking place in Beijing. The plan and budget for the current year are on its agenda. But the main task of the country's supreme legislative organ goes beyond the usual framework this time. The 3,000 deputies are discussing measures to normalize the economy and curb inflation. To put it more simply, the parliamentary debates are focused on the question of how to overcome the serious difficulties China has encountered on the threshold of the second decade of reforms.

Let us stipulate immediately that it is a case of growing pains. Since the early eighties China's GNP has doubled (last year alone it increased 11 percent). Growth rates in the PRC's industry and construction over this period have been the most rapid in the world. One is impressed not only by the quantitative, but also by the qualitative parameters of the Chinese economic potential, which is increasingly confidently making itself felt on the world market. China's foreign trade turnover for 1988 has increased by nearly one-fourth and has for the first time exceeded $100 billion (with an almost complete equilibrium of exports and imports).

But against the background of the successes, the difficulties have been aggravated and the most painful of these has become inflation. Over the past year, State Council Premier Li Peng noted at the NPC session, the retail goods price index has risen 18.5 percent. China had not seen such a leap in the cost of living in the entire 4 previous decades of people's power. As a result, there has been a decline in the living standards of over one-third of the country's urban population. This, according to Li Peng, seriously worries the people, has an adverse effect on social stability, and undermines people's faith in the reforms.

In October 1987 the 13th CPC Congress called the reform of price formation and wages a practical task for the next few years. But 10 months later a wave of panic buying and mass withdrawal of investments from the savings banks swept the country like a natural disaster. Alarmed by the authorities' decision to increase state prices for rationed foods, people set about buying up whatever they could, fearing that their savings would depreciate. An emergency situation took shape for the country's finances.

The 13th Session of the 3d Plenum of the CPC Central Committee that met last fall decided to put off for several years the planned reform of prices and wages and concentrate efforts this year and next on the struggle against inflation. It has had to intensify centralized control over the market and the turnover sphere. To eliminate the causes of disproportion and "overheating" in the economy, over 18,000 construction projects have been temporarily closed down. The draft national economic plan for 1989 now being discussed by the NPC session proposes reducing capital investments in fixed capital by one-fifth, restricting GNP growth to 7.5 percent, and providing for an 8 percent increase in industrial production and a 4 percent increase in agricultural production.

Incidentally, the same rates were planned in last year's plan. In fact, the gross volume of industrial output rose 18 percent and the gross volume of agricultural production 3 percent. The excessive discrepancy between these figures is a symptom of the violation of healthy national economic proportions. First, having received more autonomy, enterprises have set about vying with each other to get credits to expand production. The processing sectors have come out ahead and, as a result, there is an increasingly keenly felt shortage of raw materials, fuel, energy, and transport. The balance between public demand and supply has been disrupted, and that is encouraging inflation.

Second, since the expansion of enterprises' rights, prices for industrial output have crept up. Peasants, dissatisfied with the increased cost of the goods they need, have switched to more profitable crops than rice and wheat. Stagnation has emerged in grain production, and for the fourth year now grain harvests have been marking time. At the same time, prices for pork, eggs, and vegetables have climbed so much that in the cities they have had to ration them again with coupons and fixed prices. In recent years the increase in China's money supply has been double the growth of the GNP. And the more money is devalued, the less interested peasants are in producing anything to sell.

The Chinese economy's present difficulties, the NPC session's participants note, have been caused by both subjective and objective reasons. The country has been obliged to advance by the trial and error method. The experience of the first decade of reforms, it seems to me, makes it possible to draw lessons of value not only to China. These lessons, above all, warn us that market mechanisms are of themselves no panacea, that alongside their positive effects there are also sometimes adverse side effects. And whereas in the capitalist countries methods of blocking these negative phenomena have been set up, under Chinese conditions neither the experience nor the necessary levers exist for this. For instance, local economists note, Beijing has weakened the centralized planning system without replacing it beforehand with a system of centralized banking control. That is why it has been impossible to eliminate the "overheating" of the economy by the traditional method of increasing interest rates.

Practice has shown that industrial enterprises' economic autonomy can give rise to an undesirable trend like the erosion of cheap goods while the family contract based on long-term leasing can lead to a reduction in agriculture's marketability.

In connection with the fact that over the past year the number of serious crimes has increased by nearly one-third, additional measures are being taken to safeguard public order. The consolidation of political stability is regarded as a very important task.

Not retreat but the regrouping of forces for the further intensification of reforms—that is how the Chinese parliamentarians assess the present moment. Restructuring in China and in the USSR, it is being noted in Beijing, have similar aims in many respects, although it is sometimes implemented by different routes. That is why in the course of restructuring it is useful for the socialist countries to consider each other's experience, but there is no need to copy specific practice.

Indeed, the warning lessons of the Chinese reforms in my view contain much that is also instructive for us.

NPC Gives Priority to Agricultural Problems

PM3003144989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "China: At the NPC Session. Priority to Agriculture"]

[Text] Beijing—Support the peasantry and help them get back on their feet and find sources of agricultural growth. These anxious appeals were made repeatedly on the eve of the present spring session of the National People's Congress (NPC). They were further encouraged by news that the raging elements had carried off a valuable harvest. The fate of agriculture was pondered by observers and experts. Official circles hinted that the subject of agriculture would be one of the priority issues at the session.

In his report to the session on the work of the government, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, said that agriculture—the basis of the Chinese economy—is now the weakest link and needs a clearly defined, stable policy, far-reaching reform, progressive agricultural equipment, and maximum investment... And Yao Yilin, chairman of the State Planning Commission, when discussing the draft plan for economic and social development, gave the following as the main tasks: to "cool down" (!) the economy, reduce the rate of price increases, and struggle for a good harvest. Finance Minister Wang Bingqian has said that the policy of "belt-tightening" will not be extended to the agricultural sphere and that budgetary allocations for the development of this sector will be increased 12.2 percent compared to last year.

Journalists—Chinese and foreign—accredited to the session's press center were not surprised when Agriculture Minister He Kang was the first to appear before them.

While highly appraising agricultural achievements over the 10 years of the reform, when, in theory, it has been possible to feed 1 billion people; and noting the role played by the family contract, with remuneration according to end results, in the solution of this difficult task; and noting the change in the very structure of the agricultural sector and the considerable increase in peasants' income, the minister focused attention on both the stability of agricultural policy and its errors and shortcomings. After the successes of the first 5 years of the reform (an unprecedented surge in output was accomplished—from 300 million to 400 million tonnes!), the situation, in the minister's opinion, was regarded too optimistically.

However, the policy of encouraging excessive industrial growth, conducted since 1985, has led to a reduction in agricultural investment. Over the last 30 years, many hydraulic engineering installations have fallen into a deplorable state, implements of labor have become outmoded, soil erosion is a source of vexation, and many pastures have been turned into deserts. Blind growth in rural industry has led to the appearance of weak enterprises that manufacture goods of inferior quality, and so on and so forth. So how can the peasantry be helped?

The plan, Minister He Kang noted, is to create an agricultural development fund that will receive 1 percent of all budgetary construction funds and taxes on the more lucrative sectors (fruit, aquaculture, forestry products, and others). This fund is estimated at 5 billion yuan per year—a substantial addition to the budgetary allocations for agricultural development, which amount to 17.4 billion yuan. The state will also raise purchase prices for grain by 18 percent and for cotton by 10 percent. The system of rural cooperatives will have a monopoly on supplying the peasants with means of production to avoid speculation and extortion. Land contracts will be concluded for longer periods, with the possibility of transferring the right to use this land and the resources invested in it.

"Is there a grain crisis?" the minister was asked.

"There is a grain shortage, which is exacerbated by last year's relatively poor harvest," He Kang replied. "But we will supply the population with grain by supplementing the harvest with reserves and imports."

"What view is taken by the minister," your correspondent asked He Kang, "of the regular reports in the press that China is losing arable land, that farmland is being used for housing and industrial needs, and that even legislation cannot curb this trend?"

"I share the public's concern," came the reply. "The problem is very serious. Over the last 40 years, the area of farmland per capita has halved—from one-fifth of a hectare to one-tenth. We have established a State Administration for Land Use and imposed high taxes on the use of fertile land for purposes other than agriculture. And this money is used to develop barren and virgin land. Last year, we managed to halve the loss of arable land compared to 1987."

It was after the press conference ended that I discovered that the land use administration is pressing for harsher measures against those who use land illegally or for mercenary purposes. It has proposed that the NPC session adopt an amendment to criminal legislation that would make it possible to punish offenders with jail sentences of up to 5 years.

The NPC session continues its work.

Northeast Asia

Aboymov Meets With Mongolian Official

PM3103090289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Consultations took place at the USSR Foreign Ministry 23-24 March with B. Suvda, acting chief of the Mongolian Foreign Ministry planning and control apparatus. A thorough exchange of opinions took place on problems of the Asia-Pacific region and the deepening of the two countries' collaboration in improving the situation in the region. B. Suvda was received by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.P. Aboymov.

Gen Sukhorukov Attends Mongolian Reception

PM3003121589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under general heading: "To Mark Anniversary"]

[Text] On 17 March Major General G. Dugersuren, military and air attache at the Mongolian Embassy in the USSR, held a reception to mark the 68th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Army. The reception was attended by Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister, and generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The guests included the military and air attaches at the embassies of foreign states in the Soviet Union.

Detente in Asia 'Lagging'; Korea, Japan Cited

PM3003135589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Observer Aleksandr Golts article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Judgments": "Asia Lagging Behind?"]

[Text] It would hardly occur to anyone nowadays, as was done at the beginning of the century, to equate the concepts "backward" and "Asian." The Asian countries' successes are so impressive that many researchers now accept the idea that the next century will be "Pacific" or even "Asian."

But this is what creates concern. Political thinking in a number of countries in the Asia and Pacific region is lagging appreciably behind highly efficient economies and breathtaking technology. If you compare the military-political situation in Europe and in Asia, you cannot fail to see that the situation in the Old World, despite a higher level of military confrontation than in the Asia and Pacific region, is nonetheless preferable. Confidence-building measures are already operating there. Talks are being held in Vienna with regard to extending the list of these measures. At the same time, there is also talk there of reducing armed forces and arms.

The picture in the Asia and Pacific region is by no means as optimistic. Nothing controls or restrains war preparations. Evidence of this is provided by the "Team Spirit-89" maneuvers currently under way in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula.

I will not say that there is something fundamentally new in these U.S.-South Korean military rehearsals. What happened there from 14 through 23 March we have observed every spring since the beginning of the eighties. More than 200,000 U.S. and South Korean soldiers and officers participated in "Team Spirit-89." Large contingents of the rapid deployment force were transferred from the Japanese islands, Hawaii, and the Philippines to reinforce the U.S. troops. A U.S. Navy grouping consisting of 25 ships headed by the aircraft carrier "Midway" was mobilized in the maneuvers. The inflicting of nuclear strikes against a "potential enemy," involving the use of Lance missile complexes stationed on South Korean territory and F-16 fighter-bombers, was also rehearsed during the maneuvers. In addition to these, so DPRK military spokesmen reported, strategic bombers flew in from Guam every day and carried out practice bombing runs precisely over Korean soil. Subunits of the U.S. "Green Beret" special-purpose troops also participated in "Team Spirit-89."

I will repeat: We have seen all this before in one form or another and probably should not be surprised. Nevertheless we are surprised—at the fact that military scenarios in Asia are still drawn up on a vast scale and against a very dangerous propaganda background. Newspapers reported that two U.S. helicopters crashed during the maneuvers. More than 20 marines died as a result. But they are by no means the only victims of "Team Spirit-89." Its chief victim is the North-South dialogue, which is being arranged with such difficulty. The dialogue has now been virtually broken off. It seems natural that during the maneuvers there have been more frequent violations of the DPRK border, like the one recently undertaken by South Korean warships. The tranquility of other states in the region could also be considered a victim of these maneuvers. For such operations, which include large-scale sea and air landings with air and naval support, attest to very aggressive plans.

However hard Admiral L. Vogt, U.S. representative to the Military Armistice Commission in Korea, tries to prove that the maneuvers are designed just to verify the ability to build up defense forces in case of external aggression, you cannot believe him. For the scale and the scenario of the exercise clearly point to its offensive nature. In this context, the fact that the United States invited observers from the DPRK to the maneuvers does not seem to attest to constructiveness either. In this case an analogy with the confidence-building measures in Europe is out of order, for on the European Continent preliminary notification and invitations to observers are part of the confidence-building measures. They are carried out under conditions where there is a real prospect of lowering the level of military confrontation. Pyongyang, incidentally, advanced proposals for a sharp reduction in opposing forces on the peninsula. This proposal was ignored. In this case, all the work of observers boils down to recording the tremendous might of the U.S. armed forces being deployed in the south of Korea.

These maneuvers are the latest and most graphic example of the U.S. approach to problems of Asian security. Among the others, I could also cite the deployment of more and more new arms in Japan, the crude pressure on the Philippine Government to keep by any means the major U.S. bases in that country, and much else. This question is natural: Why, while agreeing to talks in Europe, does the United States scorn this idea in Asia? A basis for such talks does exist. I will remind you that the

USSR proposes halting the growth of naval forces there. And as for the region where the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, and South Korea come close together, it is proposed to go still further and reduce the level of military confrontation. And this when our country has taken a number of unilateral steps: The group of Soviet Armed Forces in the Asian part of the country is being reduced by 200,000 men. The Soviet Union has decided not to build any more nuclear weapons there. Recently it was officially announced that three full divisions, including two tank divisions, two air divisions, and individual units will be withdrawn from Mongolia. The Mongolian People's Republic is also making a considerable cut in its Armed Forces.

But a gamble on force still prevails in the U.S. approaches. "We have vital political and strategic interests in the Pacific," U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker recently declared, "and, in my opinion, the military forces at the United States' disposal, which are based in Japan, the Philippines, and South Korea, properly accord with these interests." No changes seem to be foreseen here.

Admiral R. Hays, former commander of U.S. Armed Forces in the Pacific and Indian Ocean region, pointed to the reason for this unconstructiveness in a NEWSWEEK interview. "In the Pacific region, unlike the situation in Europe, we have superiority in conventional arms and are strong enough to ensure the appropriate position of nuclear deterrence." Well, the admiral did not divulge a military secret. The existing superiority in the Pacific is what prevents Pentagon strategists from making a sober assessment of Soviet proposals. And, if we approach the problem from the old positions, this is now the very time for the Soviet Union to try to catch up with the U.S. here. However, the long and agonizing path of the arms race has convinced us of one thing: It leads only to an impasse.

The question arises: What is the way out? In Europe an important role is played by those states that are sincerely concerned about the dangers of confrontation and that frequently pursue their own foreign policy courses independent of the U.S.

It must be said that Japan, too, has now started speaking of the need to rely on its own resources to ensure security. Here, however, Tokyo proposes to ensure security not by political means but primarily by military means. Prime Minister N. Takeshita recently spoke of just this when addressing Japanese military academy graduates.

The Pentagon welcomes this path to "independence." By the beginning of next year U.S. Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary K. Jackson states, the Japanese Armed Forces will possess 60 destroyers and 100 P-3C Orion antisubmarine aircraft. This Pentagon fellow believes that Japan already surpasses the U.S. air forces deployed in the Philippines, South Korea, and Japan itself in terms of numbers of first-class jet aircraft. The Soviet commander in Vladivostok hardly considers Japan to be unarmed, Jackson reasonably remarks.

That is probably so. But the fact that Japan is accelerating war preparations and taking on an increasingly significant role in U.S. military strategy in no way strengthens its security.

It seems to me that the overwhelming majority of other Asian states are now getting close to realizing the need for a comprehensive approach to the problem of security. Only recently they did not view this problem, nor could they do so, other than through the prism of the regional conflicts in which many of them were directly or indirectly involved. The trend toward settling at least some of these conflicts is now gathering force in Asian politics. This process is influenced, above all, by the USSR's active stance, which not only strengthens our country's prestige but also makes people look anew at the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk programs.

Neither Washington nor Tokyo will be able to ignore the opinion of the majority of Asian countries. The most farsighted researchers have noted this. Experts of the U.S. UN Association and the Japanese Asia and Pacific Association have already prepared the report "Gorbachev's Policy in Asia." Formulating the chief purpose of the study, one of its authors—M. Bundy, former assistant to the U.S. President for national security—pointed out that it consists not in ascertaining the level of the threat from the USSR but in revealing the positive things that can come of Soviet foreign policy.

So it is impossible not to see today that because of the stand taken by U.S. and Japanese leading circles, which are seeking to turn the Asia and Pacific region into a kind of closed field of confrontation, the process of detente there is moving with tremendous difficulty. But it is moving all the same. And detente in Asia has good prospects. It is necessary and worth struggling to realize them.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Meets SRV, Singapore, Thai Ministers

PM3003134389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conversations in Bangkok"]

[Text] Bangkok, 29 Mar—A friendly conversation was held here between I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Tran Quang Co, SRV deputy foreign minister. In an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, they discussed questions on the agenda of the 45th session of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific [ESCAP], as well as the latest developments in the situation regarding a Cambodia settlement.

There were also consultations between I.A. Rogachev and Peter Sun, Singapore minister of state for foreign affairs and national development, who is taking part in the ESCAP session's work.

The Soviet representative met Thai Minister of Commerce Subin Pinkhayan. They held a keen conversation on the current state and prospects of Soviet-Thai trade and economic ties and on the organization of new forms of cooperation, including the establishment of joint ventures.

Rogachev Sees Possibilities for Cambodia

BK3003040189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Geliy Shakov commentary]

[Text] Comrade Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev expressed hope on continued talks between Cambodians as the main instrument for finding a solution acceptable to each side. Speaking at a news conference in Bangkok, Comrade Rogachev pointed out that currently there is every possibility for reducing the acuteness of the Cambodian problem from now to September this year. On this issue, our commentator Geliy Shakov writes.

Recently, fairly intense efforts have been made to find a solution to the Cambodian problem. In Jakarta, the second informal meeting was held between the concerned parties; SRV Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Co Thach visited several ASEAN members; and Vietnamese-Chinese direct contacts have been established. These meetings have led one to conclude that all parties have achieved a fair understanding of one another. At the first Jakarta meeting, people agreed on two key issues: a Vietnamese troop pullout from Cambodia, and the prevention of a return by the genocidal Pol Pot clique. The parties concerned agreed to link the timetable of a Vietnamese troop pullout with an end to military assistance to the warring Cambodian parties. In sum, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the end of foreign military assistance should go hand-in-hand within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement and under effective international supervision.

In a joint statement issued in Jakarta, it was proposed that Vietnamese troops be withdrawn in phases until 30 September 1989. However, it is understood that by that time the issue of ending foreign military assistance should be solved along with a solution to the internal aspect of the Cambodian problem. In Jakarta it was again affirmed that national reconciliation is the Cambodian people's own affair; the people will decide on their future and political regime through free elections based on democratic principles.

U.S. Plans on Philippine Bases Noted

OW3003131389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Vasiliy Solokhin commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: Forty-two years ago, in March 1947, the governments of the United States and the Philipines signed an agreement on the construction of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. This agreement gave the United States the right to freely use part of the Philippines' territory for the next 99 years. In the several decades that followed, the Philippine Government made incessant efforts to change the colonial nature of that treaty. But the only results achieved so far have been that the United States now recognizes the Philippines' sovereignty over these bases and must pay a fee to compensate for their use, and that the time limit for using the bases will expire in 1991. Right now the United States has 11 military bases in the Philippines, of which Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base are the largest U.S. military bases overseas. In this connection, our station reporter Vasiliy Solokhin has the following comment:

The proposition to keep the U.S. military bases in the Philippines is being opposed not only by the Philippine public, but by Philippine Government officials as well. This is by no means a coincidence because in today's international affairs the policy of confrontation and strength is undergoing a transition to one of peace, dialogue, and cooperation.

The Soviet Union has made a peace proposal aimed at ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region which includes lowering the level of military confrontation in that region, and has taken concrete steps toward that goal. The People's Republic of China has reduced its armed forces. The ASEAN nations also hope to establish peace, freedom, and neutral zones in Southeast Asia. Under these circumstances, keeping the U.S. military presence in that region is no longer necessary.

After the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty, some Philippine officials clearly stated that because of the signing of this treaty, it is no longer necessary for the Southeast Asian region to maintain U.S. bases to cope with the so-called Soviet threat. Philippine Foreign Minister Manglapus said: The U.S. military bases in the Philippines are only a temporary phenomenon. At a press conference, Philippine President Aquino also called on the Soviet Union and the United States to discuss in detail the Soviet proposal, which calls for the Soviet Union to give up its naval supply station in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay, while the United States will dismantle its military bases in the Philippines.

In short, Manila thinks it is no longer necessary to continue keeping U.S. military bases on its soil. Then why are there still U.S. military bases in the Philippines? It is because in the last 100 years or so, U.S. strategists have persistently stuck to their so-called forward-position principle, which means building military facilities in places far away from the United States. Until now, the various U.S. administrations have consistently supported maintaining this principle to protect national security.

Evidently, this U.S. principle has not changed. The U.S. Senate just passed the largest defense bill in history for fiscal year 1989. Expenses for the Philippines alone reach $50 million [as heard].

Meanwhile, the Pentagon is also well aware of the opposition of the Philippine Government and the Philippine people to U.S. military bases. Therefore, it is studying the possibility of removing its military bases from the Philippines to the Micronesian Islands. In the words of Admiral Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Palau Islands are most probably to be chosen. In other words, faced with the new reality, the Pentagon still has no intention of changing its strategic principle but is only thinking about moving its military bases from one place to another. This kind of attitude not only goes against the spirit of the times, but also will not promote detente in that region.

U.S. Attitute Toward Burma Criticized

BK2903151589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] Last Sunday [26 March], the Burmese Armed Forces overran the Mawpokay Camp, one of the most important bases of the Karen insurgents. Since the seizure of the Klerday and Methawe camps, this is the biggest victory the Burmese Army has scored against the Karen rebels. Observers point out that the Burmese Army has never been as strong before in its fight against insurgents. Station observer Aleksandr Vladimirov says the victory has wide-ranging implications.

Vladimirov said it is evident that the military defeat of the KNU [Karen National Union] in such a manner, coupled with the en masse departure of Burmese students from Karen insurgent camps, signifies the downfall of the plan by those elements who had hoped to worsen the Burmese internal situation by using the Karen insurgent territories. Obviously, no one has yet openly declared that he intended to carry out such a plan, but facts prove that some attempts in that direction have been made.

For instance, U.S. Congressman [as heard] (Rohrabacher) visited the Karen insurgents and the students there in November last year. (Rohrabacher) had illegally crossed into Burma despite the fact that the United States had an embassy in Rangoon and that diplomatic ties were still in force with the Union of Burma. He talked about democracy and blatantly called for an increase in activity against the General Saw Maung government.

It is noteworthy that following the meeting with (Rohrabacher), a spokesman for the All-Burma Students Democratic Front told a UPI correspondent that the front did not believe the military government would hold elections, that the front would engage in an armed struggle, but that it was in urgent need of assistance from abroad.

Youths and students who fled to the jungles following the military coup in Burma quickly learned, however, that the Karen insurgents only wanted to exploit them, and a situation where assistance was urgently needed, in fact, never arose. Students began returning home thanks to the conditions created for a safe passage home by the Burmese and Thai governments.

Although insurgent groups of different nationalities and beliefs tried to set up something of a united front, their efforts have come to no avail. Insurgent activities have failed to disrupt the Rangoon Government's registration of political parties and the announcement of an election timetable.

After taking all of these facts into consideration, observers can draw the following conclusion: that the Gen Saw Maung government is showing great determination to keep with its pledge to hold multiparty general elections; that confrontation, particularly armed confrontation, will not work in the struggle for democracy in Burma; and that political leadership today is firmly in the hands of the State Law and Order Restoration Council. Hence, it must be accepted that only the State Law and Order Restoration Council is capable of shaping democratic reforms in that country.

Do these facts have any effect on the stand taken by the United States? From the recent statements of official spokesmen like Moynihan and Lambertson, it is apparent that there are no changes in the U.S. attitude.

Washington authorities had protested to Japan for offering recognition of the Burmese Government and had urged Tokyo not to resume economic aid to Rangoon. Moreover, they also attempted to censure Burma at the UN Human Rights Commission.

Judging from Moynihan's speech in the U.S. Senate in August last year and from his recent statements, it is apparent that Washington has completely ignored the important developments that took place after August. Doesn't this seem surprising?

All of these facts that seem difficult to understand become clear if one remembers the visit to Burma just before the military coup by another American official, Mr Solarz. He openly declared that he had come to study the impact the events in Burma have had upon American interests in the region. Hence, what the United States is concerned about is not the situation in Burma nor the problem of the rights of the Burmese people, but only its own interests.

Let us then look at what the U.S. interests are. If the events in Burma provided the opportunity, it seems that Washington would have exploited it to propagandize the U.S. style of democracy for Asia. There is only one way the United States would have reacted to such events in Burma, and that is to directly give aid to an opposition group with the aim of extracting political and economic concessions later. It might even have been some form of military assistance—a traditional U.S. approach to regional conflicts aimed at asserting U.S. influence. Everyone knows about the assistance rendered through the CIA to the Afghan mujahidin and the Khmer resistance forces.

Developments in Burma, however, have precluded all forms of response that the United States has traditionally used. In other words, it shows that the Gen Saw Maung government is advancing firmly along its chosen path to bring democracy to Burmese politics. Elections are still far off, however, and later developments may either support or nullify today's progress.

Whatever the case may be, there is something we can firmly say today: The future of Burma can only be decided by the Burmese people, and not those who are trying to interfere in Burmese affairs.

Political Role of Burma's Armed Forces Viewed

BK2803055989 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary: "The Burmese Defense Forces Are Carrying Out a Great Responsibility"]

[Text] March 27 marks the historic Resistance Day as well as Armed Forces Day. Moscow Radio commentator Aleksandr Vladimirov comments on this occasion as follows:

It is customary to review the role of the Defense Forces in the political life of Burma on such a historic day. In so doing, one recalls how the patriotic soldiers of Burma laid down their lives fighting for the country's independence and reinforcing the foundations of independence. The main topic of discussion today is the role of the Burmese Defense Forces in the current political situation in Burma.

Burmese as well as foreign observers are commenting on this topic in various ways, and this is understandable since Burma and its Defense Forces have arrived at a very complicated stage in history marked by contradictions. A state of emergency is currently in force in the country with state power being in the hands of the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC], which consists mainly of members of the Defense Forces. They announced in September of last year that they had taken over the main responsibility of preparing Burma for democratic reforms. We could speculate as to whether it was difficult for the military leaders to make such a decision.

It was quite clear that the Defense Forces would face scathing criticism from the opposition forces inside the country as well as from abroad if they staged a coup following the events of March and August last year in Burma. Some observers believe that the military authorities, who did not want undesirable consequences, deliberately took their time in resorting to military intervention. We have to accept, however, that the decision of the emergency congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party to hold multiparty general elections, and the endorsement of the decision by the People's Assembly did not stop the wave of protest movement in the country. It is also true that the opposition leaders were unable to control the situation. The people demanded the formation of an interim government, and when the former prime minister, U Nu, announced the formation of such a government, it became clear that there was not enough unity among the opposition leaders for them to consolidate power. Meanwhile, the mass movements continued to gather force, and the situation occasionally turned into mass unrest. Massive protest movements in Burma, the kind of mass protest movements that had occured frequently in other developing countries, forced the Defense Forces to the forefront, as they are the most organized institution capable of establishing order in the country. It was clear that the price for establishing law and order by military force was high.

The government cited 500 as the number of those killed during the disturbances. In an interview, General Saw Maung explained that had the Defense Forces not used force, the casualty figures would have been higher. However, those who want to criticize Gen Saw Maung do not believe what he said. It should be noted here that Western magazines commented during the height of the public disturbances that if the situation continued, Burma could become another Lebanon. There was a danger of civil war.

During a recent interview with foreign journalists, the leader of the SLORC, Gen Saw Maung, said Burma's Defense Forces are carrying out a great responsibility. The responsibility is indeed great and burdensome. We cannot disagree on that.

It will be necessary for the Defense Forces to continue working to establish law and order and to put the public enterprises into operation. On the other hand, it is clear that the military authorities could not allow any development that would eliminate their pledge to hold democratic general elections and for General Saw Maung to step down to pave the way for the legally elected government as expected by the people and leaders of the political parties.

Will the Defense Forces and the current government be able to carry out their responsibility? All must acknowledge that they effectively removed the possibility of armed conflict, despite the criticism against them from the opposition, and successfully removed attempts by armed insurgents to exploit the events of last year for their own interests. The crucial point is that it was able to establish an internal peace that would pave the way for the political parties to prepare for the elections.

Currently, active preparations for the elections are underway and there is a Draft Election Law. A large number of Asian countries refused to join the anti-Burma campaign led by the U.S., while Japan has decided to recognize the current Gen Saw Maung government officially.

It is clear that the current Burmese Government will have to work hard to carry out its pledges. For example, it will be necessary to remove the restrictions on the democratic rights of the citizens—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly—that are essential for holding genuine elections. We think the opposition forces could also help in solving existing problems. It will depend on them as to whether reason prevails over emotion. Reason includes restraint and pragmatism.

Moscow Radio commentator Aleksandr Vladimirov concludes by saying that no one can deny that all political forces in Burma are capable of taking such action.

TASS, VNA Protocol Furthers Cooperation

LD2703113789 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—A protocol on further expansion of cooperation between the news agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) and the VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY (VNA) was signed here on Monday.

The protocol envisages, in particular, greater efficiency and higher quality in the exchanges of news and photo pictures between the two news agencies by using computer technology and a satellite high-speed communications channel.

The protocol was signed by TASS Director-General Leonid Kravchenko and VNA Director-General Dao Tung.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Foreign Minister Begins Moscow Visit

Arrives, Met by Shevardnadze

LD3003164789 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived in Moscow today for a brief working visit. He was welcomed at the airport by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and other officials.

The welcoming party included the Iranian ambassador to the USSR, Naser Heirani-Nobari.

USSR, Iran Experts Hold Meeting

NC3103051889 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Our Foreign Minister Mr Velayati arrived in Moscow last night. The central news unit reports that our foreign minister was welcomed at Moscow airport by the Soviet foreign minister, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and members of the Iranian Embassy in Moscow.

During this visit, which is taking place at the invitation of Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, Mr Velayati will discuss matters of mutual interest with him.

The report states that the two countries' experts held a meeting in Moscow last night, and the talks between the foreign ministers of Iran and of the Soviet Union are to begin today.

Velayati, Shevardnadze Meet

LD3103073189 Moscow TASS in English 0703 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Velyati opened in Moscow today. The Iranian foreign minister arrived in Moscow on Thursday on a short working visit. The sides will discuss bilateral relations and international and regional problems of mutual interest.

Defense Minister Yazov Visits Syria

Meets Syrian President

LD3003151789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1416 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Damascus, 30 Mar (TASS)—H. Al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, received today Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who is in Syria on an official visit.

During the disscussion which took place, the successful development of multifaceted relations between the Soviet Union and Syria, including in the sphere of defense, was noted. The growing dynamism of these relations is in keeping with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, with the cause of creating a comprehensive system of peace and international security. With regard to the problems of the situation in the Near East, there was emphasis on the topicality of the actions and the dialogue aimed at finding solutions acceptable to all interested sides. The conviction of the need to invigorate the efforts on preparation for the speediest possible convocation of an international conference on the near East under the UN auspices was expressed.

The discussion passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

In the afternoon, Army General D.T. Yazov departed for his homeland.

He was seen off at the airport by Major General M. Talas, Syrian Arab Republic defense minister, and other officials.

Returns to Moscow 30 Mar

LD3003191789 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov returned to Moscow from Damascus today.

He was in Syria on an official visit.

Ponomarev, CPSU Delegation Depart for Syria

LD3103084889 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Under the plan of ties between the CPSU and the Socialist Arab Renaissance Party of Syria, the delegation of the Soviet Communist Party led by Aleksandr Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Belgorod regional party committee, today left for Damascus.

Pakistani Plans To Use Chemical Weapons Cited

LD3003210689 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 30 TASS—According to the available data, Pakistani Army and military intelligence services are planning to purchase chemical weapons in the Western market and use them in the area of combat actions around Jalalabad and then to hold Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan responsible for such barbarous actions, says a statement of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan, which has been distributed here.

Afghanistan, which signed the 1925 multilateral protocol banning the use of asphyxiants, toxic or other such gases and bacteriological agents in a war, does not produce, does not use and will now allow to use them on its territory, the statement says.

Pakistan is engaged in vigorous activities to develop nuclear and chemical weapons which is the cause of profound concern of the public and even the United States. Pakistan is therefore imperiling peace and security in the region. Islamabad now intends to put chemical weapons into the hands of irreconcilable opposition. We express confidence that the world community shares our views on the inadmissibility of using chemical weapons in regional conflicts, since it will even more heighten the situation and create a real threat to peace and security in the whole world. Such a turn of events must be prevented.

As soon as Pakistan gives chemical weapons to the opposition and they start using them, the Pakistani side will be held responsible for all dangerous and unforeseen consequences of such a step.

The statement confirms the available data that the irreconcilable leaders, specifically leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan Yunis Khalis, intend to stage a provocation against Soviet prisoners of war. As was already reported, the opposition leaders' design is to bring to the Nangarhar area prisoners of war, dressed in Soviet military uniforms, to shoot them and to present that to Western journalists as "proof" of the USSR's direct interference in combat actions near Jalalabad. It is also planned to demonstrate corpses to field commanders of armed opposition formations and refugee camps so as to revive the "jihad against the faithless" idea.

Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry stresses with utmost responsibility that in accordance with the Geneva agreements the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan's territory on February 15, this year. As to designs of the irreconcilable opposition leaders, they want to resort to such actions to cover up their military defeat near Jalalabad, Qandahar and other cities, and to continue the bloodshed.

Mujahidin Plans for 'Provocative Act' Decried

LD3003210189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] I want to acquaint you with a report from Afghanistan. The leaders of the irreconcilable opposition there are preparing what I would call a repulsive provocative act. We know that for almost a month the opposition has been trying without success to capture Jalalabad, the administrative center of Nangarhar Province. And now, in order to justify in some way or other its failure, it plans to transfer from Pakistan to Nangarhar several captive Soviet soldiers, dress them in our military uniform, and shoot them. The plan is to place the bodies of those killed next to wreckage of a military aircraft or helicopter with the markings of the USSR Armed Forces, and then to show them to Western journalists as evidence of the direct participation of the Soviet Union in the operations outside Jalalabad. This is the report. I will ask Aleksandr Malikov to comment on it:

[Malikov] It is true what they say in the West: For some people, honor and conscience are like clothes—the more you wear them, the shabbier they become. This applies entirely to those who have conceived the next anti-Soviet provocative act. It is difficult for me to take it in coolly and rationally, for it arouses a whole range of emotions that are unfortunately far from positive. First: indignation. Indignation at that cynicism with which the opposition and those who are spurring it on, including in this barbaric step, are ready to deprive our people of life, those whom their mothers have longed for and for whom we have been searching persistently and for a long time. An immense amount of time and effort, by our diplomats and military personnel and by representatives of public organizations—and not only by ours—have been expended on this noble and very difficult matter.

We were assured for a long time that there were no Soviet prisoners in Pakistan, and now, only a few dozen kilometers from the Pakistani border, they are intending to show them—murdered. However, in this instance it will already be difficult to dissociate themselves from the actions of the cutthroats of Islamabad, since, even in the West, they are now speaking openly about the fact that an arm of the Pakistani directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence, or, in its abbreviated form, ISI, are directing all the operations of the rebels. This service was formed by the late Ziaul Haq, and has changed its functions not an iota under the new administration.

Since we have started talking about this, it is not superfluous to recall that foreign servicemen, dressed in Afghan national dress, are taking part in military actions on Afghan territory, including in the region of Jalalabad, not without the knowledge of ISI. It turns out that once again a masquerade is going on. It is permissible to ask what kind of policy this is that cannot manage without dressing up or masquerading. It is clear that it will not be possible, despite any tricks, to dress up a policy of interference in Afghan affairs and the most flagrant infringements of the Geneva accords.

The attempt to cast a shadow over the new thinking of our country, whose words are not at variance with its deeds, not only in domestic affairs but also—and everyone sees this—in international affairs, will not be successful. Our soldiers have left Afghanistan, and you will not get them back there with the help of cynically concocted frauds. This is a hopeless business, but the main thing is that it is harmful. It is undermining an important basis for the search for a political resolution of the Afghan problem, the basis of trust. And I will add that it is leading away from the creation of really civilized relations between us and several neighboring countries, whose leaders, in their official statements, speak in favor of the development of friendly and normal relations with the Soviet Union.

Amnesty International Concerned Over POW's

LD3003144689 Moscow TASS International Service in Rusisan 1225 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar (TASS)—Amnesty International currently is pondering steps that might be taken to obtain the release of Soviet servicemen taken prisoner in Afghanistan. This was announced by the organization's general secretary, Ian Martin, who heads the Amnesty International delegation that is in the USSR at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law.

Members of the delegation were received today at the Soviet public's Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Servicemen Taken Prisoner in Afghanistan. "We are greatly concerned about the fate of Soviet POW's," Ian Martin told a TASS correspondent. "If the world community speaks out in their defense, I think it will become possible to obtain their release." Ian Martin spoke in favor of setting up a branch of Amnesty International in the USSR.

The members of the delegation stated that their organization tried to send a representative to Peshawar to discover where and under what conditions Soviet POW's are being held, but permission to enter Pakistan had not been granted.

Kabul Stable Despite 'Colossal Difficulties'

PM3103090089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Roundup prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and A. Ivanko in Kabul: "The Patrons of the Opposition Are Reviewing Their Assessments"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A recent BBC program showed a "sensational reportage" on how the British television company's correspondent managed to penetrate Kabul together with a group of mujahidin, members of the "Islamic Movement" organization. The journalist reports that he entered the city with the mujahidin, successfully bypassing all government guard posts.

The report could certainly make an impression on the London viewer who is ready to believe that the Afghan capital is not under the government's control. But it must be borne in mind that the mujahidin organization with which the BBC correspondent was in contact does not belong to the Peshawar alliance and may very well have been allowed into the city with the knowledge of the local authorities. This conclusion is, in fact, suggested by the BBC program presenter himself, who pointed out, in particular, that some of the "moderates" are trying to make contact with the Najibullah government in the attempt to form an acceptable form of government in Kabul.

We asked our special correspondent to describe the situation now taking shape in the Afghan capital. [passage omitted]

In Kabul you can see with the naked eye the economic difficulties caused by the war. There are many disabled people and refugees from rural areas in the streets. Those who have nowhere to live sleep on the sidewalks.

The numerous stalls are still open and the choice of industrial and food goods is relatively wide. But the main problem for the city's inhabitants is prices. The maximum monthly wage for civilians is around 6,000 afghanis, and for the military between 6,000 and 15,000. A kilogram of meat at the market (there is virtually none in the stores) costs 500-600 afghanis, lamb is 700-900 afghanis a kilogram, sugar around 300, and rice 250. For a great many people this is beyond their means.

Our country is giving free aid by agreement with the Afghan Government, in order to stabilize the situation. I was told at the USSR trade mission that the USSR delivers some 200 tonnes of flour a day to the city, among other things.

Despite the colossal difficulties, Kabul does not give the impression of a city under siege. The people's power believes in its own strength and is ready to take up arms to defend the capital.

Petrovskiy Receives Indian Ambassador

PM3003135189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Indian Ambassador to the USSR T.N. Kaul at the latter's request 29 March.

They discussed questions of bilateral and multilateral cooperation concerning the implementation of the Soviet-Indian summit statement dated 20 November 1988.

Lebanese, Mideast Peace Depends on Israel

PM2903091889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Ostalskiy review: "Beirut on Fire: The Lebanese Crisis Against the Background of New Attempts at a Middle East Settlement"]

[Text] The thunder of artillery fire, exploding shells and mines, and machinegun salvos shakes Beirut. Western news agencies note that the present fighting in the Lebanese capital is the fiercest in the last 5 years. On Sunday the warring parties—the army subunits under the government of General 'Awn and the Syrian-backed armed formations of Muslim organizations—intensified their artillery duel. Eyewitnesses report that the intensity of the shelling is around 50 shells a minute in East Beirut. Hundreds of shells have also exploded in residential districts of West Beirut, which is mainly inhabited by Muslims.

"We pray for this nightmare to end. We cannot take any more suffering. Our children are deafened by explosions. The shelling is so intense that we do not feel safe even in the shelter." That is how the situation was described by an inhabitant of one district of the city that, according to REUTER, looks as if it had been struck by an earthquake.

According to preliminary figures, in recent days at least 73 civilians have been killed and more than 230 wounded in the Lebanese capital.

Hostilities in Lebanon were stepped up after General M. 'Awn, who heads one of the two governments that claim power in the country, called on Friday for the withdrawal of the 25,000-strong contingent of Syrian troops from Lebanon. Syria, for its part, rejected these calls and stressed that Lebanon's future is being threatened. Damascus, as is well known, supports the cabinet of one of Lebanon's Muslim leaders—S. al-Huss.

The conflict within Lebanon is closely linked to the long-unresolved Middle East problem. The majority of political observers believe that without its resolution, no serious progress can be achieved toward a Lebanese settlement. On Sunday, Israel, Egypt, and the United States marked the 10th anniversary of the signing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The late Egyptian President Al-Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and the conclusion of the Camp David agreements, and then the peace treaty between the two countries were perceived by the majority of Arabs as a betrayal of pan-Arab interests by Cairo. Now, 10 years later, real prospects have emerged for a compromise political settlement of the conflict which, unlike the Camp David documents, could be all-embracing in nature and take account of the legitimate national interests of all parties to the conflict.

U.S. President G. Bush made a special statement on the anniversary. "The desire to seek a peaceful settlement is becoming increasingly widespread. At the same time, there is a growing understanding that the only settlement that can be reached is one that equally satisfies Israel's need to ensure its security and takes account of the legitimate political rights of Palestinians. What proved effective in the Egypt-Israel peace treaty could form the basis for a lasting peace on a wider scale," G. Bush stressed.

The new possibilities for a Near East settlement emerged primarily thanks to the constructive position of the PLO. The organization's Executive Committee adopted a decision to convene a session of the Central Council on 31 March to discuss the developing situation in the Israeli-occupied territories. It noted the successes of the Palestinian leadership's realistic policy in the international arena. There have also been changes in U.S. public opinion, the PLO Executive Committee resolution notes. It describes as "positive" the shifts in the position of the American administration and the Jewish community in Europe, America, and Israel itself.

The PLO received resolute support from the participants in a trilateral meeting in the Egyptian city of Ismailia, in which Egyptian President H. Mubarak, King Husayn of Jordan, and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat took part. They stressed that their political consultations were a step toward a united Arab position for the establishment of a just and all-embracing peace based on the restoration of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and Israel's total withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories.

The meeting examined the question of the possible procedure for preparations for an international conference on the Middle East and the form it could take.

However, the Palestinian leadership's realistic position has yet to meet with a response from the Israeli Government, which continues to stubbornly reject the possibility of peace dialogue with the PLO and the holding of an international conference. This policy was expressed openly by former Israeli Prime Minister M. Begin, who signed the peace treaty with Egypt 10 years ago. Breaking for the first time the silence he has maintained since retiring in 1983, he stated: "We cannot waive our principles. For all our respect for the United States, we cannot accept ideas that could jeopardize our future." The former premier did not explain how the holding of an international peace conference on the Near East and dialogue with the PLO could threaten Israel's security. But the present head of the Cabinet, Y. Shamir, is in full solidarity with him. In answer to persistent questions from journalists on the possibility of greater flexibility in Tel Aviv's position, he replied irritably: "I do not think anything could change my mind."

Meanwhile the people's uprising continues in the occupied Arab territories, and has now been going on for nearly 18 months. According to agency reports, on Sunday, in the course of clashes between the population and the occupying authorities, at least 10 Palestinians were seriously wounded. A 64-year-old Arab was found dead near the Jewish settlement of Ma'ale Mikhmash (in the region of the Palestinian city of Ramallah). According to police reports, a hand grenade was thrown into a police van in northern Israel. It exploded, but there were no casualties.

Socialist Party Leader Views Lebanon Situation

PM2803092789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Halim Abu Fahraddin, member of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party Central Committee Politburo, by correspondent Yu. Glukhov: "Target—Lebanon"; date and place not given]

[Text] The situation in and around Lebanon has significantly deteriorated in recent days. Internecine strife has flared up with renewed force in the country. Israel's aggressive sorties have increased in frequency. In an interview for our correspondent Yu. Glukhov, Halim Abu Fahraddin, member of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party [PSP] Central Committee Politburo, analyzed the situation..

The military-political escalation being carried out at present by the government of General 'Awn, he said, is directed against the Lebanese national patriotic forces and Syria. It has the backing of the United States, Israel, and a number of Arab states. Its aim is to raise the temperature and wreck efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of Near East problems and preparations for an international conference which the Soviet Union suggested convening. As is known, the Soviet initiative was backed by the majority of countries, including the Arab states and the PLO.

It is obvious to us that General 'Awn is performing a pro-American and pro-Israeli role in seeking by military means to undermine security, complicate the situation, and deepen the economic crisis, the interlocutor said. Lebanese right-wing forces are also trying to do this by striking at Beirut and mountainous regions of Lebanon and civilian population centers. This has resulted in further human casualties, not to mention substantial material damage.

The military actions are accompanied by a sea and air blockade. At the same time, H.A. Fahraddin noted, Israel's recent aerial offensive in the Biqa' Valley is direct evidence of coordinated actions between 'Awn and Israel. Raids are being made on the national patriotic forces of Lebanon and Syria to make them accept unfair settlement conditions that ignore the Arab peoples' legitimate rights. They also ignore Lebanon's demand for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from its territory and its desire to create a national democratic regime in the country on the basis of a political solution of the Lebanese crisis ensuring the unity of Lebanon, its Arab allegiance and progressive development.

In our view, PSP President W. Junblatt's appeal to all peace-loving forces to help oppose those who are inhibiting the process of the peaceful settlement of the Near East conflict and of the Palestinian problem on a just basis is highly relevant. What is needed is a rebuff to the aggressive policy of Israel and Arab reaction, which is hindering a just settlement in the region. This would also contribute to the creation of a favorable climate for the solution of the Lebanese crisis. We welcome Kuwait's efforts to bring the Lebanese sides' positions closer together in the hope of escaping from the impasse.

Soviet Officials at Seminar on Mideast Peace

JN2403151389

[Editorial Report] Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic on 22 March on page 25 carries an approximately 2500-word report by Moscow correspondent Salam Musafir on a roundtable seminar organized by NOVOSTI news agency for Arab correspondents in Moscow. The seminar was attended by 'Abd al-Mohsen al-Du'ayj, Kuwaiti ambassador in Moscow; Robert Turdiyev, chief of the Department of Regional Issues and Problems at the USSR Foreign Ministry's Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration; Prof Aleksey Vasiliyev, deputy director of the Africa Institute; and Dr Andrey Shumikhin, chief of the U.S. Middle East Policy Section of the United States of America and Canada Institute [name and title as published].

The Soviet officials talk about a settlement in the Middle East, relations with Israel, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnaze's visit to the Middle East, cooperation with the United States in the Middle East, and Iranian-Iraqi conflict.

Robert Turdiyev says Shevardnadze's Middle Eastern tour was a "very important step" which aimed to "push forward the international efforts regarding a settlement to the Middle East problem." Turdiyev goes on to say that the Soviet Union believes that the circumstances are right to "activate the settlement process and prepare for the international conference." He says: "The Soviet Union proposes that the UN role be reactivated to prepare for convening the international conference, which must be attended by all sides to the conflict, including, naturally, the PLO in an independent delegation, since it is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Robert Turdiyev also says that Israel is a threat to the Arabs and "we are trying to confirm certain information about Israel's possession of nuclear weapons." He adds: "Therefore, we propose an integrated arrangement for security in the region. This can only be achieved through international guarantees provided by the multiparty international conference."

Turdiyev reviews the events that led to the severance of diplomatic ties with Israel and stresses that this subject was not raised during Shevardnadze's meeting with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens in Cairo. He recalls Gorbachev's statement in which he said that the absence of relations with Israel is unnatural, and stresses that "we want to normalize and restore relations. However, they will be restored within the framework of progress toward a political settlement—that is, by beginning to convene the international conference."

Regarding Moscow's concept of the contents of a solution in the Middle East, Turdiyev says: "Now, we are not talking about the contents of settlement, but about its principles, and these are Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and the right of all states in the region, including Israel, to exist. As for the contents of settlement, this is a matter to be decided by the directly concerned parties through an international conference and through bilateral negotiations within the framework of that conference. We believe that Resolutions 242 and 338 form a legal basis for settlement in addition to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination."

Prof Aleksey Vasiliyev says he does not agree with comments made in the West about Shevardnadze's Middle Eastern tour which suggested that Moscow aims to compete with the United States in the Middle East. He says: "Actually, we do not call for competition, but, rather, for cooperation, not only in the Middle East, but in the whole world." He adds: "We have legitimate interests in the region and we have historic, geographic, cultural, and economic relations with the countries in that region. The United States and the West also have legitimate interests in the region which we recognize. We are against the setting up of military alliances in the Middle East and against establishing foreign military bases in it."

Dr Andrey Shumikhin says that certain countries in the Middle East possess missiles which can reach deep inside Soviet territory. He says: "This is a serious factor which we are raising with the Americans while we urge them to abandon confrontation in the region and cooperate in order to solve its crisis."

Shumikhin says the Soviet Union is a superpower with great economic and political resources, and cannot be excluded from the region. He says: "We seek to participate in all stages of settlement, and we do not intend to give in to the conditions of the West and the United States." He adds: "Regrettably, the United States and the Bush administration have not so far set a mechanism for a solution in the Middle East." He concludes by asserting that "we call for balanced and serious joint cooperation based on activating the UN role to solve the Middle East crisis."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Namibia

LD3003134989 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 30 Mar 89

["Namibia—Soviet Foreign Ministry Statement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Follows a statement made by a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman here today:

"The implementation of the U.N. plan for the decolonisation of Namibia, endorsed by Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council way back in 1978, begins on April 1st.

The plan envisages the preparation and holding of U.N.-supervised free and fair elections to the constituent assembly in Namibia, the adoption by it of the country's constitution and the proclamation of the independence of Namibia.

As a result of these measures, designed to be implemented within one year, the last colony is to disappear from the political map of Africa.

Namibia's road to independence has been hard and long. We regard the fact that progress has been achieved as another manifestation of new political thinking, as a trend towards the defusion of tensions.

That this process is nearing completion has become possible thanks to the long and heroic struggle of the Namibian people led by the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) for their country's freedom against South African colonialists, thanks to support for this struggle from "frontline" states, effective solidarity on the part of other African countries and the international community's efforts.

Having thwarted the South African military's aggressive designs on battle-fields in Angola, Angolan patriots and Cuban internationalists have also considerably contributed to creating conditions for the liberation of Namibia.

The signing in New York in December 1988 of an agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, reached with active assistance from the Soviet Union and the United States, gave the green light to the settlement of the Namibian issue.

Bolstered with the high prestige of the U.N. Security Council, they marked a breakthrough towards settling the conflict situation in south western Africa and reaffirmed the vital importance of and necessity for the solution of regional conflicts by political means."

"The international community is facing a major task, that of bringing to an end the process of Namibian decolonisation and preventing its disruption.

A U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) is leaving for Namibia to create proper conditions for holding truly free and fair elections and shaping national political institutes in an independent Namibia.

The success of its mission largely depends on cooperation of all political forces present in Namibia and on strict compliance with commitments by the parties involved in the conflict situation.

The international community rightfully expects that South Africa will display no lesser responsibility than the other parties concerned, and will strictly and fully abide by the agreements.

This is a real test of the seriousness of Pretoria's intentions and of the possibility to trust its policy.

The U.N. Security Council is called upon to watch closely the developments in Namibia and act resolutely so that its Resolution 435 be fully and most effectively implemented.

The world public and mass media can extend real assistance to the United Nations in that.

For its part, the Soviet Union, which has consistently advocated the complete eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and racism, peoples' right to independece and sovereignty and the unconditional freedom of choice, has done much to bring closer the day of Namibian independence and intends to contribute to the final Namibian settlement.

The gaining of freedom and independence by the Namibian people is to pave the way for the continued settlement of the tense conflict in southern Africa and would help improve international relations on the whole."

Namibia Facing Troubled Transition Period

PM2303090989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Tyurkin dispatch: "On the Cherished Threshold"]

[Excerpts] Luanda, March—[Passage omitted] The date 1 April 1989—a date confirmed by the 22 December New York meeting between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, and by UN Security Council Resolutions 629 and 632—will be the official starting point for the new postcolonial era in Namibia.

It will mark the start of the transitional period during which the country will live under the "UN plan" approved by the Security Council back in 1978 in the well-known Resolution 435. [passage omitted]

How realistic is the scenario approved by the Security Council back in 1978? Many observers believe that its fulfillment will entail many difficulties. Even before the "UN plan" has come into force problems of a preparatory nature have emerged. One of these is linked with reaching agreement on the financing of the important UN operation and, consequently, on the size of the UN Transitional Assistance Group.

As is well-known, this problem was only finally settled in late February. The USSR took the principled position of ensuring guarantees that the Namibian people could actually implement their right of political choice.

The question of reaching a cease-fire agreement in Namibia and achieving the fulfillment of the UN Security Council demands on reducing the size of armed formations will also have to be resolved.

As these important issues are settled others will emerge in their place. How are free and fair elections to be guaranteed in practice? What government will be based in the Tintenpalast ("Ink Palace")—the government residence in Windhoek? And there are many other questions.

As for the puppet government nominally in power at present, the chances of those collaborating in it are not good. The London-published journal SOUTH believes that the "Namibian transitional government has been a fiasco. The puppet administration has been unable to win recognition. The South Africans cannot find people to fill ministerial vacancies."

The South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO], which has waged an armed struggle for liberation since 1966, is generally recognized to have a real opportunity to win. Through its president S. Nujoma SWAPO has stated that if the elections are really free it will win 70 percent of the vote. The Western press also gives SWAPO the nod, albeit evaluating its chances somewhat lower—at 50-60 percent. In order for the constitution to be adopted it will have to be voted for by two-thirds of the deputies to the Constituent Assembly.

The range of political forces preparing for the elections is exceptionally varied. There are around 40 groupings and parties formed mainly along ethnic and tribal lines. Of the 1.3 million people living in Namibia around 80,000 are white. They are mainly South African emigres as well as Afrikaners from Germany who first colonized the country in 1884.

Electoral pacts have been created, dissolved, and resurrected, but a general trend can be discerned—the forces linked to South African interests, the local administration, the Army, or business are striving to unite against SWAPO.

They currently have behind them the entire enormous repressive system—the South African Army and its "native" units along the lines of the "South-West African Territorial Forces," numbering 35,000 men, and mercenary antipartisan units carrying out propaganda and terrorist activities throughout the country.

A telex sent from the district army headquarters at Runtu (northern Namibia) to the main staff in Windhoek and acquired by local newspapers does not report military actions—which seem to have been pushed into the background by the Army—but states, for instance, how Colonel Mueller, the local commander, "explained Resolution 435 to inhabitants of eastern Kavango at a tribal rally." The headquarters also reports a meeting between the leaders of two parties—Action for a National Solution and the Namibia National Independence Party—with a view to "uniting against SWAPO" and, as an Army spokesman put it, to "fight for the right to exist as political parties." There has also been a report of a meeting between figures in the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] antigovernment Angolan grouping entrenched in northern Namibia and a tribal chief in Kvangali.

One should pay attention, I believe, to an episode that is typical of "rallies" organized by the Army. It transpired that this Colonel Mueller was asked questions "which displeased him and those accompanying him." A troublemaker who, moreover, had publicly stated his support for SWAPO was dragged out of the crowd and, as the telex delicately put it, placed in a helicopter and sent to Nadioma for questioning." In the opinion of THE NAMIBIAN such episodes confirm "how deeply the RSA Army interferes in the country's politics and struggles to influence events." Despite strict censorship, reports such as this—revealing the range of means used by the occupiers to brainwash the population and to scare and pressure unsuitable political forces—have been reaching the press. There is particular alarm about the fact that, as Namibia's NAMPA News Agency reports, extreme right-wingers are training hired killers for the election campaign. With the help of Army circles the "White Wolves" extremist grouping is training black terrorists, who are being tasked with eradicating SWAPO activists.

Nor do the authorities balk at direct falsification. According to SWAPO, tens of thousands of UNITA members have been issued false papers to enable them to vote on the elections as "Namibians." These papers differ from the real thing in just one small detail—there is no place of birth listed. It is also planned to actually transfer some of Savimbi's armed detachments to Namibia from the southeastern regions of Angola.

Large RSA Army forces capable of playing a destabilizing role both in the transitional period and after independence continue to be present at military bases in the large port city of Walvis Bay, which has been annexed by the RSA (this is also a major problem, but it lies outside the framework of the present stage of the settlement and its resolution has been postponed to some future date). It is planned to transfer a "Kuffut" terrorist police unit and a "Buffalo" mercenary battalion there.

In short, it is hard to envisage an unruffled, smooth transitional period. To all appearances there will be a fierce struggle for the fulfillment of the UN resolutions.

Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin Visits Africa

Received by Mozambique's Chissano

LD2203194689 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Maputo March 22 TASS—On Wednesday Anatoliy Adamishin, special representative of the Soviet leadership and deputy foreign minister, was received by Mozambican leader Joaquim Chissano.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions on the situation in southern Africa, possibilities to step up efforts at finding political settlements for various aspects of the conflict in the region and at stabilising the Mozambique situation. The sides also discussed some questions of Soviet-Mozambican relations which are characterised by the spirit of comradely cooperation and the desire to find new possibilities for an advance in various spheres on the basis of solidarity and community of national interests of the two countries.

The meeting which was held in a friendly atmosphere of frankness, was attended by Nikolay Dybenko, Soviet ambassador to Mozambique.

Holds Talks With Zambia's Kaunda

LD2603201289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1825 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Lusaka, 26 Mar (TASS)—Kenneth Kaunda, the president of Zambia, received here today A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister and special representative of the Soviet leadership, who is in Zambia.

The Zambian president spoke highly of the policy of new thinking being conducted by the Soviet Union in international affairs, and stressed that it is bringing practical results in a variety of fields and is giving hope that it is possible to solve the urgent problems facing all peoples today and to put more humanity and justice into relations between states. He showed great interest in the USSR's approaches to current questions of world politics, from the state of East-West relations to the situation in Afghanistan. The exchange of opinions confirmed that the points of view of the Soviet Union and Zambia are close or identical.

The most attention was paid to the situation in southern Africa, and the president expressed his gratitude to the Soviet Union for its help to the independent states of the region, especially Angola and Mozambique, and also to the South-West African People's Organization and the African National Congress, and he noted the role of the USSR in concluding the New York agreements on untying the Angola-Namibia knot. The USSR and Zambia are ready to go on helping with the decolonization of Namibia. They feel the South African policy of destabilizing neighboring states must be completely ended. The apartheid regime, whose existence lies at the root of the regional tension in southern Africa, can be dismantled by a political, peaceful path. But for this it is essential that Pretoria abandon its violent repression of the legitimate aspirations of the majority of that country's population.

The stable and friendly development of bilateral Soviet-Zambian relations over the course of nearly a quarter of a century was noted. O.S. Miroshkhin, ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Zambia, took part in the conversation.

Meets ANC Leaders in Lusaka

LD2703181589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1723 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Lusaka, 27 March (TASS)—Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, met Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]; Alfred Nzo, secretary general of this organization; and Joe Slavo, member of the ANC National Executive Committee and secretary general of the South African Communist Party, in the Zambian capital today.

In a detailed and friendly conversation, the two sides discussed the situation in the South African region. The Soviet representative confirmed the continuing solidarity of the USSR with the just struggle of the ANC, which reflects the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa.

Oleg Miroshkhin, ambassador of the USSR to Zambia, was present at the meeting.

Received by Angola's Dos Santos

LD2903015689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1204 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Luanda, 28 Mar (TASS)—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, on Monday received Anatoliy Adamishin, special representative of the Soviet leadership and USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is visiting there.

In the course of a friendly conversation, the president imparted to him his ideas about possibilities for a political solution to the problems that are at the root of persistent tension in the south of Africa. Having singled out the Soviet Union's constructive role in unblocking the conflict in the African southwest, which has started, he noted the need to complete the process of peaceful settlement in the region and to secure Namibia's true independence. This requires the strict observance of agreements on southwest Africa by all the interested parties and the rigorous fulfillment of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council.

It was stressed that South Africa must completely give up the policy of destabilizing neighboring countries and respect their independence and soveregnity.

The conversation showed that the Soviet Union and Angola still proceed from the fact that stable peace and stability in southern Africa cannot be attained without eliminating the apartheid regime. They are for making the efforts of the international community in this direction more active.

The unity of views between the USSR and Angola was confirmed also during the discussion of various aspects of bilateral relations which are distinguished by a mutual striving to make cooperation deeper.

Conveys Gorbachev Message to Nujoma

LD3003151189 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Luanda March 30 TASS—Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin met Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), here on Wednesday.

He conveyed to the president a message from the Soviet leader, which reaffirmed active solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence and expressed confidence that friendly relations between the two nations will continue to grow stronger.

It was noted during the meeting that cooperation between the Soviet Union and SWAPO has assuemd a special urgency because the struggle for Namibia's decolonisation has entered a decisive stage. The agreements on south western Africa, signed in December last year, and subsequent decisions by the U.N. Security Council gave a real chance for the people of Namibia to gain genuine independence. The patriots of this country are close to their coveted aim after travelling a long and difficult road.

Sam Nujoma stressed that the Soviet leader's friendly message which SWAPO received at the height of the struggle—transition from armed actions to political mobilisation of the masses—gave inspiration to the movement at large. The people of Namibia highly assess Soviet support at all stages of their struggle for independence.

The talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, were attended by Soviet Ambassador to Angola Vladimir Kazimirov and Hidipo Hamutenya, member of SWAPO's Politbureau and information and publicity secretary.

RSA's Botha To Resign 'Before Term Expires'

LD2403150789 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Lusaka March 24 TASS—The South African President Pieter Botha has decided to resign before his term expires right after the parliamentary elections scheduled for the second half of the current year. This was reported Thursday by the Johannesburg newspaper "THE STAR" with reference to government sources. The crisis, triggered off by the power struggle between Pieter Botha and the new ruling National Party leader Frederik de Klerk, has been resolved by means of a compromise, the newspaper says. It is believed in Pretoria that it was reached during Pieter Botha's and Frederik de Klerk's meeting this Tuesday. Without giving the details of the agreement they reached, the newspaper notes that the date of the parliamentary elections will be announced early next month.

Differences in the South African leadership came to a head a few weeks ago, after the 73-year-old Pieter Botha, who suffered a light stroke this January, refused, after recovering, to relinquish the Presidency to Frederik de Klerk. The ruling party's leadership have tried more than once to convince the head of state that continuing "dual power" only tended to aggravate the political crisis and harmed the National Party's prestige. "THE STAR" notes that Pieter Botha had finally agreed to step down following protracted negotiations. The president's term of office expires this September, but according to the Constitution he has the right to prolong it until March 1990, when the term of the current parliament expires.

South Africa is living under a state of emergency for three years now. This goes to show that its political system is in a state of growing crisis. Scores of anti-racialist organisations have been banned, including the biggest one—the United Democratic Front. Tens of thousands of people were imprisoned without trial or investigation. Many of them are still languishing in Jail. The white community, which was regarded, especially its Afrikaner part, as an unshakeable bulwark of apartheid, is splitting up.

As noted by the South African press, Federik de Klerk does not enjoy the reputation of a liberal, but he is more pragmatic and receptive to different points of view than Pieter Botha and, consequently, has more chances to accelerate the implementation of at least some most urgent political reforms in the country.

Ethiopia's War in Eritrea, Tigre Updated

LD3003163789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] In Addis Ababa and other Ethiopian towns meetings of inhabitants associations took place. The situation in the north of the country was discussed. War has already been waged there for many years now by the separatist groups of Eritrea and Tigre. Our correspondent in Ethiopia, Anatoliy Doronin, reports.

[Doronin] The reason for these meetings was the need for an even greater mobilization of all resources connected no doubt to the recent activization of separatist groups in the north of the country. According to unofficial reports, the separatists control Tigre completely as well as the greater part of Eritrea. As is obvious from reports in the Ethiopian press, the separatist groups—the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front and the Tigre People's Liberation Front—are operating together and although, as the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY reported recently, the revolutionary army and the people's militia repulsed an attempt by the separatists to seize the town of Adi Kala in the administrative region of Eritrea, the situation in the north remains very tense. In this context, the government's attempts to mobilize everything for the front—this is the main slogan today—are explicable and comprehensible.

However, we must not forget another point: Although the government spends annually the greater part of the state budget on this war, there is no end to it in sight. The war in Eritrea has already lasted 28 years, in Tigre 14, and if outside help to the warring sides continues it may last forever. So the question naturally arises as to whether it would not be more sensible to devote urgent searches for a mutually acceptable peaceful resolution instead of extending mobilization. This would save the lives of thousands of Ethiopians and resources now going toward the war could be directed toward social and economic development. Appropriate and mutually acceptable formulations for autonomy or a federation would preserve the territorial integrity of the country which at the moment has to be done by force of arms. It seems that Ethiopia would only gain from this.

Ambassadors Present Credentials to Lukyanov

Meets With Mauritanian Envoy

PM2803083989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] Kamara Aly Gueladio, Mauritanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials 24 March in the Kremlin to A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

People in Mauritania are following with great interest the important transformations being implemented at present in the Soviet Union for which our country's government and people nurture feelings of respect and sympathy, the ambassador said. He expressed a high opinion of the new Soviet policy's positive influence on international relations and of the support that the USSR has always offered to the people's struggle for the cause of peace and justice.

Receiving the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov stressed the significance of the processes of renewal under way in the USSR. He pointed out that the people's realization of the need for a shift toward the qualitative reorganization of the world on the basis of the principles of the new political thinking and the primacy of general human values is bearing its first weighty fruit. In turn the deepening of the positive trends manifest in the world arena requires all the members of the international community to further step up their constructive coordinated efforts and cooperate within the United Nations.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the friendly nature of Mauritanian-USSR relations and noted the existence of opportunities to further broaden and strengthen bilateral cooperation.

After the presentation of the credentials A.I. Lukyanov and A.G. Kamara had a friendly conversation in which T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, took part.

Receives Nigerian Envoy

PM3003115989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received Zubeiru Mahmud Kazaure, newly appointed ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the USSR, in the Kremlin 29 March.

Presenting his credentials, the ambassador declared that Nigeria is profoundly grateful for the Soviet Union's weighty assistance in the development of its national economy and for its help in training Nigerian cadres. He noted in particular the Soviet Union's major political and material contribution to the liberation of the African Continent and the importance of its efforts for a settlement in southern Africa. The ambassador expressed confidence that the development of the restructuring processes in the USSR will have a favorable effect on its cooperation with Nigeria and other African states.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov said that Soviet society is now living through a most crucial stage, when restructuring is moving from the realms of designs and plans into practice and is taking on specific forms of socioeconomic and political organization. The situation prevailing in the world and making it possible to look hopefully into the future is the result of objective processes now making their way, which were philosophically interpreted in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech.

It was noted with gratification that the Soviet Union and Nigeria have either the same or similar approaches to a broad range of key contemporary problems and that there is growing collaboration between the two states in the international arena. Emphasis was placed on the readiness to expand and deepen bilateral cooperation, and attention was drawn to the major potential and opportunities available here.

Following the presentation of credentials, A.I. Lukyanov and Z.M. Kazaure had a friendly conversation, with T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy foreign minister, taking part in it.

Cable Greets Mali on 10th Party Anniversary

LD3003101589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has sent a message of greetings to the Mali People's Democratic Union [MPDU] National Council to mark an important date, the 10th anniversary of the creation of the party. We express confidence that the friendly ties between the USSR and Mali, the CPSU and the MPDU will continue to develop in the interests of our peoples, benefitting the cause of peace and mutual understanding in the world, the cable says.

Cooperation Commission With Ghana Established

LD2403204789 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] An agreement on the establishment of a Soviet-Ghanaian commission for trade, economic, scientific, and technological cooperation has been signed in Accra. Such a commission should stimulate bilateral relations.

East Europe

Hungarian Comment on Grosz Visit Cited

PM3003133789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Course of Renewal"]

[Text] Budapest, 28 Mar—The working visit to Moscow the other day by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and the talks that were held reaffirmed that Hungary and the Soviet Union are interested in each other's success and are allies in implementing reforms and renewing socialism, NEPSZABADSAG writes in a commentary today. At the same time, the experience of the two countries proceeding along the path of reform and the progress of renewal will produce more and more problems which will need to be openly discussed.

Soviet policy, NEPSZABADSAG stresses, has given a new boost to everyone linking the future with modern socialism. In the context of new thinking Soviet policy is transforming relations with the socialist countries not just in theory but in practice, recognizing that diversity strengthens rather than weakens socialism's power.

The results of the Moscow talks, the commentary notes, show a unity of views and community of interests. Understanding and trust are now determining features. Trust in a policy that recognizes its responsibility to its own people, although also clearly aware that decisions have an impact beyond a country's borders. This affects countries both large and small, NEPSZABADSAG points out in conclusion.

Strikes Called 'Inalienable Right' in Hungary

PM3003093889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Review by B. Rodionov in Moscow and F. Lukyanov in Budapest under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Hungary: Law on Strikes"]

[Text] The Hungarian National Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority (with 17 votes against and 27 abstentions) the first law on strikes in the country's history.

Strikes have not yet become such an integral part of the political landscape in Hungary as they are in, say, Poland or Yugoslavia. In recent memory there have been only a 1-day economic strike of miners in Mecsek (after the settlement of the conflict the miners made up for the lost shifts) and a few cases of 10-minute stoppages as a token protest against price rises. So, one wonders, why regulate in law a phenomenon that has not yet become widespread? But people in Hungary decided to forestall the development of events.

The formulation of a law on strikes was required by the logic of the economic reform and the transition to a market economy, in which not the government, not the ministry, but the individual employer bears full responsibility for compliance with labor legislation, the collective contract, and terms of payment for labor.

The interests of employers in all sectors are represented at statewide level by the Hungarian Economic (formerly trade) Chamber, while the interests of workers and employees are traditionally defended by the trade unions. If an agreement cannot be reached between workers and employers, the workers and employees retain the right to resort to the extreme form of protection of their interests—the strike. As for the state, it provides the legal framework for resolving conflicts and monitors compliance with the law.

On the basis of the logic of the economic reform, the formulation of a law on strikes began. At first the trade unions wanted to include provisions on the trade unions in the law, but that would have delayed matters. Moreover it emerged that the trade union cannot always be equated with the labor collective.

The government intended to submit the draft law for examination by a National Assembly session last November, but was forced to agree to a postponement. Although the draft that was submitted reflected the agreed (after long debates) opinion of the Council of Ministers, the Hungarian Economic Chamber, and the National Trade Union Council, it aroused serious criticism in the parliamentary commissions. The legal commission found that the draft interprets the right to strike in too restrictive a manner. As commission spokesman Deputy Szigeti put it, it sought to drive the strike outside the factory gates, excluded the possibility of actions in solidarity, failed to take account of the emergence of alternative trade unions in some places, and also banned compensation for lost wages for participants in those strikes deemed lawful.

Without fear of losing face, the Council of Ministers agreed to a revision of the initial document. As a result on 22 March the deputies received for discussion an entirely different draft, focused, as the speakers noted, not on restricting, but on safeguarding the rights of strikers. According to the main speaker, state secretary C. Halmos, leader of the labor and wages department, the law adopted by the session is "one of the most liberal in the world." It is fully in accordance with the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which calls for the right to strike to be safeguarded in accordance with the country's laws.

Incidentally, the law contains only seven articles.

The right to strike is henceforth regarded in Hungary not as a gift from above, but as an inalienable right of citizens, on a par with the right to assembly and to form trade unions, social organizations, and parties.

The version of the law adopted by the National Assembly acknowledges the working people's right to strike in the broader sense—as a way of protecting their economic and social interests—and also grants the right to hold strikes in solidarity. A strike may be declared not only by a trade union, but also by a meeting of the labor collective, and a secret ballot is not compulsory. But only a trade union can declare a solidarity strike.

Not all strikes can be deemed lawful. Strikes that damage the rights of other citizens or endanger their health (for instance, a stoppage at a nuclear power station) are not permitted, nor are strikes whose objective is contrary to the country's constitution. Moreover the law imposes certain restrictions on strikes in those spheres of activity that provide basic essentials for the population.

Who will decide whether a particular strike is lawful or not? That will be the prerogative of the independent court on labor matters, which is to pronounce its verdict within 5 days. As C. Halmos stressed, no legal sanctions are stipulated against initiators of unlawful strikes. Participation in these will be regarded as a violation of commitments under the labor agreement, which may be dissolved. In conditions of growing unemployment, that is a serious sanction.

Action Against Kosovo 'Troublemakers' Viewed

PM3003104389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[V. Kuznetsov report: "Kosovo Drama: Why the Thunder of Explosions Is Being Heard"]

[Text] Belgrade—The disorders in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo are developing into a drama with human casualties. Militia detachments in full field gear, wearing helmets with plastic visors and carrying large shields, have been dispersing the latter-day vandals who have been smashing store and cafe windows and overturning cars and street lights and have been forced to resort to such extreme means as tear gas, water hoses, and billy sticks.

According to a TANJUG report, attacks by groups of citizens of Albanian nationality against militia stations have become more frequent in the past few days despite the special measures taken by the SFRY Presidency to preserve public order and protect the inviolability of citizens and their property and the most important industrial facilities in Kosovo.

Separatists have armed themselves arms and started shooting at militiamen from balconies and rooftops. The Yugoslav news agency pointed out that a "highly clandestine counterrevolutionary center was well prepared for another onslaught" and that "its actions were synchronized."

Militiamen and security organ personnel have been killed while trying to enforce law and order and totally innocent people have suffered. Extremists have killed 19 people including 2 militiamen. Forty-nine people, including 25 militia personnel, have been injured. Around 200 thugs have been arrested. And all this in the past 4 days alone!

March 29 was a day of mourning in Serbia. With full military honors the working people of the republic accompanied the victims of the disorders to their final resting place.

As the SFRY Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs reports, helicopters patroling over population centers in the province have been fired at. It has been officially reported that Albanian nationalists have been using guns with telescopic sights [snayperskoye oruzhiye].

The Kosovo government has taken a decision to restrict the movement of the province's inhabitants, to ban mass meetings on the streets, and to close schools and higher education establishments, movie houses and museums, and also bazaars. From now on gatherings of more than three people in public places are not permitted.

The Kosovo Presidium—the supreme organ of the autonomous province—has resolved that students who take part in disorders and schoolchildren who "swap their pens for cobblestones" will be disciplined up to and including expulsion from their educational establishment. It has also been decided not to pay a single dinar to individual workers or groups of people who stay away from work.

"Indeed, what is there to pay for?" the newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES asks. "Kosovo's economy is suffering vast losses. In the past 30 days alone the material damage linked to the disruption of the normal production process at the lead and zinc mines and the stoppage at foundries and textile mills has risen to over 100 billion new dinars."

"Kosovo's economy is on the verge of collapse," VECERNJE NOVOSTI states. "It already owed the country's banks 310 billion new dinars. The 1.4 million U.S. dollars which all Yugoslavia invests in the autonomous province's development each year are just being thrown away."

In the past few days attacks by young troublemakers against Yugoslav mass media workers have become more frequent.

A report issued by the SFRY Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs says that "a large proportion of the young troublemakers, egged on by nationalists, are carrying edged weapons and even firearms." On highways in a number of regions in the autonomous province separatists have built barriers of rocks and overturned vehicles to block traffic between individual population centers. Acting aggressively against law enforcement organ personnel, the nationalists have begun using women and children as "cover." "Schoolchildren and infants are hostages in the nationalists' hands," POLITIKA EKSPRES writes.

It is hard to predict where the next "nationalist abscess" will burst. "The events in Kosovo in November 1988 as well as in February and March 1989," POLITIKA EKSPRES stresses, "show that the Albanian nationalists still have many helpers. Secret information possessed by the lawful organs of local power easily and quickly reach the ears of the counterrevolution's leaders. They are remaining in the background of the events and continue to move at liberty unhindered."

TANJUG Cited on Albanian Situation

PM2903122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed article from "Dialogue" feature: "The USSR and Albania: Where the Differences Lie"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] What do the Albanians want from us? After all, that country is socialist and should not grumble endlessly. Nowhere have I read a clear statement of the thrust of our differences. Please tell us in your newspaper: After all, we have glasnost now.
[Signed] Party and labor veteran I.M. Chumakov, Moscow

Leningrader I. Popov, V. Bastrikov from Sverdlovsk, and many, many others have put similar questions to the editorial office: There are perhaps more questions about Albania than about any other subject. It is not easy to answer them if only because none of the PRAVDA staffers has visited Albania in the past 3 decades. That is why we offer for readers' attention (slightly abridged) a recent item from Yugoslavia's TANJUG agency on this question. Diplomatic relations are maintained between the SFRY and Albania and trade is developing actively and our Yugoslav counterparts are very well informed of the situation in that country.

"Albania on the Threshold of Changes," "Albania Opposes Changes"—these headlines alternate in the Western press, which is trying to guess what is happening in "the world's most isolated country" 4 years after the death of its long-term leader Enver Hoxha, says the TANJUG commentary "Loyal Guardian of Stalinism" devoted to Albania's attitude toward the processes taking place in the USSR.

Meanwhile, however, something is changing in that country—the "state of war" with Greece has been ended and diplomatic relations have been established with the FRG. In only one field does Tirana persistently cling to the positions of Hoxha's time: It either remains deaf to Moscow's appeals to normalize relations between Albania and the USSR or answers them with refusals and abuse. Soviet restructuring has upset a lot on the domestic and the international plane, but has changed nothing in Albania's attitude toward the USSR.

After the breakdown of the "eternal alliance" concluded between the two countries in 1948 and rejected by E. Hoxha 12 years later when at the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers Parties Tirana denounced Nikita Khrushchev as the second revisionist after Tito, Albania has not wanted and "never will have any relations" with Moscow.

And the more the USSR tries through its actions to generate good will in Albania and persuade it to normalize relations, the stronger the opposition in response from Tirana. Albania to this day obstinately defends "the cause of Stalin against attacks, slander, and distortions."

Nonetheless, all Soviet leaders from Brezhnev to Gorbachev have been persistent in their attempt to prove that the resumption of diplomatic relations and the establishment of the broadest cooperation would be useful to the two countries and in "the socialist states' common interests." But these appeals, especially in the Soviet press on Albanian national holidays and anniversaries, have generated only refusals and new attacks in Tirana.

But Albania is considerably more circumspect and soft with regard to similar efforts from the USSR's allies in the Warsaw Pact. Although it has, for instance, raised its diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and the GDR, which have been maintained for nearly 3 decades at the level of charges d'affaires ad interim, to ambassador level, with respect to nearly all other East European socialist countries which are allies of the USSR Tirana applies E. Hoxha's formula: increasing trade exchange and economic cooperation without expanding political relations.

The reason is basically one and the same for all: In Tirana's opinion the USSR and these countries have "betrayed" Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Albania accuses them all of being "disloyal" to the principle that "socialism is inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat." As a symbol of loyalty to Stalin a statue of Iosif Vissarionovich continues to rise up in central Tirana in front of the factory which bears his name, on Stalin Square, which leads to a boulevard which also bears the name of Stalin.

Yugoslav Journalist Views Soviet Reforms

PM3003091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Risto Bajalski, Moscow correspondent for Yugoslav newspaper POLITIKA, by V. Antonov: "Yugoslav Journalist Sends 25 Dispatches a Month from Moscow"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Risto Bajalski, the Yugoslav newspaper POLITIKA's new own correspondent, was accredited in Moscow last September. Not that the word "new" is very apt in this case. As much as 10 years ago a TASS correspondent reported from Belgrade that POLITIKA's annual prize for 1978 had been awarded to R. Bajalski, its Moscow correspondent. That report stated, in particular, that POLITIKA characterizes its employee as "one of the best-known journalists" and one who possesses such journalistic qualities as "all-around informing of the reader" and the desire "not to dodge the truth" and "to show in every important event its wider meaning." But, in the end, the TASS correspondent's conclusion was this: Risto Bajalski "tendentiously covers life in the Soviet Union."

"Risto, what constituted this tendentiousness?"—that was the question that opened my conversation with the Yugoslav journalist.

[Bajalski] You know, in my opinion there is always an element of tendentiousness in journalistic work. Because a journalist is not a detached observer but adheres one way or another to a particular viewpoint. In the seventies I could not hide my attitude to what was happening in your country then and engage in describing "tumultuous and prolonged applause developing into an ovation," as was done in the Soviet press, for example. I wrote honestly, so it seems to me, although I did not use the current term "stagnation." This did not take much from a professional viewpoint—merely not to dodge the truth. By the way, it will strike you as odd, but I encountered virtually no obstacles at the time when seeking the information I needed.

[Antonov] Was this your "discovery" of Russia?

[Bajalski] To some extent. The point is that my first real acquaintance took place much earlier—in 1962, when I was appointed Moscow correspondent of the newspaper BORBA. It was a time of thaw. It was extremely interesting work then. The 20th CPSU Congress, the first upheavals in the Stalinist model of socialism, the struggle between supporters and opponents of the congress guidelines. To give a figurative description of those times, I would say that the "Soviet train" of change was gathering speed and then losing it, sometimes it was put unto the rails of political maneuvers, and in the end it was driven into quite a long halt. And yet, despite powerful opposition forces, in my opinion the 20th CPSU Congress did its work.

[Antonov] Let us compare the processes you witnessed almost 30 years ago with what is happening in the USSR now. Do you see any similarity or differences between them?

[Bajalski] The chief distinguishing feature, in my opinion, of the present time is the information boom which your country is experiencing. Today it is no problem for me to obtain practically any information, including at first hand. Glasnost has eliminated the "conspiracy of silence" which reigned for many years among the Soviet leadership. The difficulty lies elsewhere: How to "embrace" the whole range of information that has overwhelmed the reader, including myself.

Another sign or feature of Soviet society today is associated with its political life. In my opinion, there has been an extraordinary activation of the human factor. Like litmus paper, glasnost has revealed a range of views and sentiments and has, in a way, exacerbated relations in society. Today a very great deal is being said and argued about the fate of restructuring and about antirestructuring forces. Active, vigorous people with their own independent view of many things and capable of making constructive suggestions have emerged unto the political scene today. It seems to me that this has been clearly shown by the election campaign and the debate on nominating candidate deputies. It seems to me that these elections are the "alpha" of restructuring and its chief issue today and will determine whether or not the political system that is being created will be democratic.

[Antonov] But let us return to comparisons. I believe that there was an analogous situation during the first thaw, too. It is no coincidence that we so frequently recall today those who excited public awareness in the sixties....

[Bajalski] This is quite natural. Moreover, many of them are among the active participants in restructuring today. Names of "sixties people" familiar to me are being heard again—people whose thoughts, ideas, and proposals expressed 30, 20, or 10 years ago constituted to a certain degree, so it seems to me, the program of restructuring. Today, for example, a policy of radical economic reform has been adopted. But I recall how in the fall of 1962 PRAVDA carried an article by Professor Yevsey Liberman, a Kharkov economist. The debate which developed after that publication in many ways helped to formulate possible areas of Soviet economic development in subsequent years and, as a result, the economic reform of 1965. In 1977-1978 three long articles by Dmitriy Valovoy, doctor of economic sciences, were printed also in PRAVDA, and raised the issue of problems of planning under socialism. Thus, during those years I encountered in the journal NOVYY MIR, in the Leningrad journal ZNAMYA, and in the Novosibirsk journal EKO articles which aired quite radical proposals by economists, prominent economic planners, and scientists on the need for a turnaround in the Soviet economy. I, of course, wrote about this in my newspaper. But it seems to me that my commentaries aroused some displeasure in Soviet official circles.

[Antonov] And yet the progressive ideas of the 20th CPSU Congress and the 1965 economic reform were not carried through to completion....

[Bajalski] I think this was prevented by active opposition from circles which were not interested in implementing transformations. Specifically, by the party and state apparatus and, essentially, the Stalinist political system. Three years later, at the time of the "Czechoslovak events," its representatives said: "This is what could result from reform of the economic system of socialism. It is not far from here to restoration...." Of course, I simplify the matter. But this, in my opinion, is its essence.

Similar opposition processes can, in my opinion, be seen today, too. Those sections of the population whose privileges and power are threatened must quite objectively rebuff changes and are doing so. I even admit that the majority of them realize that restructuring is in the interests of all of society. But the inertia of the old, usual method of managing society simply does not allow them to join the ranks of supporters of rapid and radical changes. They would like these processes to take place calmly, step by step, and, as far as possible, not to affect their interests. But because this is not so, and power is still in their hands, the braking mechanism operates.

[Antonov] Clearly these were the chief themes in your first dispatches from Moscow.

[Bajalski] I send POLITIKA an average of up to 25 articles a month. Plus I also write for Belgrade television and radio. I endeavor to portray restructuring in the USSR to my compatriots more widely and interestingly. The concept of democratic changes in Soviet society has, in my opinion, taken shape in the economic sphere, in the sphere of the political system, in social life, and in culture. That is, the concept of restructuring has today been formulated. It is quite clear. But its realization is essentially only beginning. And the fate of restructuring will always be directly dependent on the level of glasnost.

Markovic Thanks USSR Council of Ministers

PM2803091789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Message of thanks from Ante Markovic, chairman of SFRY Federal Executive Council, to USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To the USSR Council of Ministers:

I cordially thank you for your congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of my election as chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

Allow me to take this opportunity to express the conviction on behalf of the Federal Executive Council and myself personally that the friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR will continue to develop successfully and progress in the interests of our countries' peoples and the cause of peace and universal progress.

Ante Markovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council

Petrovskiy Meets CSSR Counterpart Vacek

PM3103090489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Mar 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 24 March USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy had a meeting with CSSR Deputy Foreign Minister E. Vacek, in the course of which questions of Soviet-Czechoslovak collaboration at European and international conferences and forums were discussed.

* Poland's Miodowicz Interviewed on Roundtable

WA18070571 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 12, 22 Mar 89 pp 9, 14

[Report on interview with Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation, by Aleksandr Bondar in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] "In pluralist Poland there will be room for both me and Miodowicz." I wrote down these words spoken by Lech Walesa a couple of days before my conversation with Alfred Miodowicz.

Political and social movements in Poland are noticeably linked to individuals.

Walesa? "Solidarity" or, rather, that moderate wing of the trade union-political movement which is now more frequently called the "constructive opposition" and which recently has been declaring its readiness to operate within the framework of legislation. This is one of the groups participating in the negotiations at the "roundtable" of representatives of various movements and political trends in order to reach national agreement, without which it might not be possible to bring Poland out of its crisis.

Miodowicz? The current legal trade union movement. He is the chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ]. Naturally, this side also has a place at the roundtable.

And between them is a field called "political and trade-union pluralism," access to which is about to be opened up legislatively. To be sure, this will largely be a de jure recognition of that which already is, which lives and is in operation. This is why the roundtable was needed.

How are Solidarity, which asserts that it will be the only trade union, and the OPZZ getting along together? How will their relations be arranged in the government and the party?

And so the first question for Alfred Miodowicz, 59 years old, a member of the PZPR, a former metallurgist, and since 1984, chairman of the OPZZ:

[Bondar] A law on trade unions was adopted in Poland in 1982. Solidarity and the quite well-intentioned trade unions that existed before the crisis of the eighties or, rather, what was left of them, were disbanded. Taking into account the lessons of the crisis, it was necessary to build a new movement. What makes the OPZZ different from the previously existing legal trade union movement?

[Miodowicz] The main lesson was the following: the trade union movement, squeezed into an ossified structure with rigid centralization, couldn't really reflect or defend the interests of working people. We have created the new trade unions on different principles.

Yes, we are associated with the Polish United Workers Party. But we are associated ideologically and not structurally. We have rejected the principle of democratic centralism. Our center does not indicate and does not command in complete assurance that the lower levels will always answer "yes, sir." All the rights lie with the local party organizations and they have complete independence in resolving any issues. There are more than 27,000 trade union organizations in the country and approximately 24,500 of them are joined together into federations that are included in the OPZZ. Those that are not included in federations solve their own problems. The authority, I repeat, is with the local organization, and the other structures have representative functions and express their will.

Nor are we that notorious drive belt from the party to the masses. Our relations with the PZPR are as partners. And this is the way it should be. Both in the trade unions and in the state the party should play its leading role through the communists and not by means of control and "calling people on the carpet," and so forth. Naturally, members of the PZPR are responsible to the party, but the "higher levels" as such do not intervene in our activity. The old bureaucratic form of realization of the principles of the leading role of the party in Poland and been discredited repeatedly.

In our trade unions we do not have such a concept as a "party schedule." Nobody is appointed to the PZPR and nobody delegates...

[Bondar] But they say that about 75 percent of the positions in the trade unions are held by party members....

[Miodowicz] We do not cite that statistic. I do not know where those figures come from. We elect people to positions democratically, from an unlimited number of candidates. Whether he is a party member or not is the personal business of each, but the main thing is that he work well.

[Bondar] Let us assume that a person has been working well. Frequently this means that he has been in conflict with the directors. His term is up and he is no longer protected by his position. Are there cases in which the directors then "put the pressure" on him? Or, for example, if they try to remove him from his position ahead of schedule?

[Miodowicz] Our trade union is independent. It is not on anybody's leash, including the directors'. They are equal parties who must act in such a way that the collective is satisfied and the interests of the enterprise are observed. The director does not appoint a person to a trade union position, and this means that only the trade union organization can remove him ahead of schedule. When a person returns to his previous work, his interests are protected by law for a year: even though his qualifications, naturally, have decreased, he will earn no less.

[Bondar] Where does the money for maintaining the OPZZ come from?

[Miodowicz] Trade union members pay dues of 1 zlota (less than a kopeck). This covers one-tenth of our expenses. The rest of the money we make up with the help of economic activity: we have a publishing house which brings in a good income, we are shareholders in various companies, we issue bonds, and so forth. So the union is not a parasite..

[Bondar] What are your relations with the government like?

[Miodowicz] There is always friction between the trade unions and the government, sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker. There was friction with the preceding government of Zbigniew Messner and its exists today as well.

[Bondar] Your dispute with the Messner government ended with his retirement last year. Such a thing has never happened in the socialist countries before.

[Miodowicz] There is a first time for everything. The trade unions had a conflict in principle with the former government. We thought that it was necessary to put more goods on the market, which was becoming empty. Therefore it was necessary to produce more and stimulate good work, to put it simply, we had to pay people to increase labor productivity. We also suggested becoming involved in the distribution of labor resources. But the government thought that it was possible to saturate the market with only two levers: price increases and retardation of the growth of wages.

The OPZZ warned that this road would lead into a blind alley. We suggested alternative solutions. The government would not agree. The referendum at the end of 1987 was a very serious warning to it. The government did not manage to get the majority of the population to agree to a decline in the standard of living so that, as it promised, in a couple of years it could quickly get the economy back on its feet and improve well-being.

But the government still proceeded to inflate prices at the beginning of last year. The tension in the country erupted into strikes which could not be restrained. The situation began to get out of the government's control and by the end of the summer inflation had jumped to 60 percent.... The country has still not recovered from all this. We entered a vote of no confidence in the government. First, naturally, I raised this question at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, and then in the Sejm....

[Bondar] In September of 1985 the new government was headed by Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Do you accept his three priorities: agriculture, housing construction, and ecology?

[Miodowicz] It is rather a case where the government accepted our priorities. We discussed these as well as the tasks that were to be carried out first even before the new government came into power. But the OPZZ thinks that the national economic plan is in need of changes: If one looks at it closely it has no priorities and has been drawn up by bookkeeping methods. I personally think that now one priority should be brought to the foreground: housing construction. The problem must be solved. Otherwise even in the next few months the young people will be at the throats of the authorities. Write it down like that: "at their throats." Because it is not normal when a person has to wait 20-25 years for an apartment.

[Bondar] Both the government and the OPZZ have their own calculations of the subsistence wage for the population. Are they different?

[Miodowicz] They are. The government does not take into account certain expenditures, for example, for tobacco and alcohol. The difference between its calculations and ours is significant. But I do not think that anyone will be able to question the fact that the standard of living is dropping. Last year the real earnings were 20 percent less than in 1979. Forty grosz out of every zloty are not covered by commodities. This is a dramatic situation that is fraught with conflicts and deepening crisis.

[Bondar] Nonetheless the OPZZ assumes that it is possible to bring the country out of the crisis without tightening your belts. How?

[Miodowicz] There is no need to tighten belts but to regulate the utilization of labor resources as rationally as possible. The trade unions think that there are too many workers in the state economy. There are two workers in places where one would do. As a result, both have miserly earnings. According to our calculations, about 2 million people are "superfluous."

[Bondar] But what should they do, release them? Introduce unemployment?

[Miodowicz] Why? Our cooperatives, the sphere of services, and the trades need people And competition between the state sector and the private and cooperative sector can only be for the better. State enterprises, incidentally, will be able to pay their workers twice as much as they receive now.

[Bondar] If the government does not agree to your suggestions, what will be your next step? A strike?

[Miodowicz] No, or else we would be striking all the time, and this is a dangerous weapon which should be used only in extreme cases.

We shall try to introduce the issue in the sejm. In the deputy club of the PZPR in the Sejm there is already a fairly strong group from the trade unions. They have the idea of creating their own deputy club in the Sejm.

Trade unions in Poland have the right to strike. But it is accompanied by so many conditions that almost any protest becomes illegal. We think that all possible methods of resolving the conflict must be tried first, and only then as an extreme measure can we strike. But the negotiations in the bureaucratic corridors are extending over months. We want for the maximum time not to exceed 3 weeks.

[Bondar] You are frequently attacked, especially by Solidarity circles, because you are not only the chairman of the OPZZ but also a member of the PZPR Central

Committee Politburo. They say they know which position takes precedence and that there can be no possibility of independence of this trade union movement!

[Miodowicz] Our trade unions recognize the leading role of the party. For me personally as a member of the PZPR it is a great honor to be in the Politburo. For the trade unions this means access to information. Finally, it is one thing if a member of the highest party echelon becomes chairman of the OPZZ and quite another when a trade union leader is elected to the Politburo. But still at the next congress of the OPZZ we wish to raise the question of correctness of combining the two positions. The subject is debatable and I shall not try to predict what the delegates will decide.

[Bondar] In January at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum you voted against introducing political and trade union pluralism in the country. Do you now think that this decision was premature?

[Miodowicz] As a member of the party I abide by its decisions. I was never against the appearance of new trade unions. But I did think and still do think that first it is necessary to legalize pluralism politically, and then would come the turn for trade union pluralism. Why? We cannot rule out the possibility of the appearance of a new trade union which would attract all the opposition that is not formed into clubs and movements and would become a large movement—political, trade union, and social. The consequences of this cannot be predicted.

Solidarity is demonstrating its readiness for compromise. But here one of its leaders, Janusz Onyshkevich, recently declared: we shall pound our fist on the table and go to fight the OPZZ... Are there any guarantees that divisiveness and arguments will not appear at the enterprises? No, there are no such guarantees. Another situation cannot be ruled out either: Miodowicz reaches an agreement with Walensa and with the government, and the workers will say: we do not need your trade unions. And they will go ahead without us. The labor collectives, especially youth, are now very agitated and they can attract aggressive groups, that same extremist, uncompromising part of Solidarity.

[Bondar] But is there still the possibility of peaceful introduction of trade union pluralism?

[Miodowicz] We very much hope so. And we should like for them to conclude a kind of "nonagression pact" among them. But this is a lengthy process. It involves periods of tension and struggle at the enterprises.

[Bondar] Are you not afraid of competition? After all, 70 percent of the members of your trade union were previously in Solidarity...

[Miodowicz] We are not afraid. Some of the people will leave. But I do not think that most of them will go to Solidarity. They will either leave the trade union altogether or they will enter a third trade union, or a fourth or a fifth... If several trade unions appear at one enterprise it will be necessary to think of how to coordinate their actions. Let us assume that they need joint representation which would submit mutually coordinated proposals or demands.

[Bondar] Do you believe in the success of the roundtable?

[Miodowicz] If you consider the appearance of hope in the society to be a success, then yes. But this was just the beginning of the path.

Romania Restricts Export of Consumer Goods

PM3003142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Volodin dispatch: "Romania: Change in Customs Regulations"]

[Text] Bucharest—"On Certain Measures To Improve the Customs System." This is the title of a Romanian State Council decree which will come into force in 30 days.

The decree, signed by Romanian President N. Ceausescu, contains a list of goods which can be exported from Romania only after the payment of customs duty in freely convertible currency. The extensive list includes motor vehicles, bicycles, motor vehicle tires, gas cylinders, electric appliances, electronic calculators, furniture, carpets, woolen and leather goods, furs, stockings, clothing and footwear, tablewear, crystal and china, construction materials, agricultural implements, and medicines. The document indicates that customs duty will also have to be paid on any other items for individual use whose value exceeds 1,000 leu.

Under the new customs regulations, foreign tourists will only be allowed to take goods out of the country without paying customs duty if they have been bought in Romania with freely convertible currency.

* GDR, USSR Form Joint Computer Venture

WA18250128 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by S. Baygarov: "Happy Birthday 'Tsentron'!"]

[Text] Leipzig—An intergovernmental agreement was signed here recently for the creation of the first joint enterprise of the USSR and the GDR. Its founders are the Kalinin Tsentroprogramsistem NPO [Scientific Production Association] band the Robotron Combine.

The joint enterprise which has been given the name Tsentron is located in Kalinin. It will work on the creation and introduction of sets of technical programs for program systems for various areas of the national economy: metallurgy and public health, petrochemistry and banking.... At first the orders will be filled for the USSR and the GDR, and later, when Tsentron gets on its feet, for third countries as well.

Tsentron has been on complete economic accountability from the very beginning. The founders intend to increase the overall volume of work to 19 million transfer rubles, and the profit—to 4.2 million. Even this year the consumers will receive about 250 complete computer systems "turnkey."

"The creation of this enterprise was possible because the partners have known one another for a long time," said the minister of the electrical equipment and electronics industry of the GDR, F. Mayer. "I am personally convinced that joint enterprises are one of the effective forms of cooperation and I shall continue in the future to support it in all ways."

"The charter capital of our enterprise was set at 5 million transfer rubles equally from each side," says the general director of the Tsentroprogramsistem NPO, V. Kurpriyanov. "The head management agency will be the council which will include three people from each country."

It is intended to create branches of Tsentron in a number of cities of the USSR and the GDR. It is planned to open the first of these branches in Tallinn.

West Europe

British Diplomat on Upcoming Gorbachev Visit

LD3003184889 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The Soviet Union and Great Britain have not had so good relations as now for many years, a high-ranking British diplomat told Soviet newsmen at a briefing in Moscow today.

The British people, he said, are following with great interest reforms that are taking place in the Soviet Union and the development of glasnost and democracy that have been so convincingly confirmed in the course of elections to the Congress of People's Deputies.

The activity of Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet leader's very personality generate constant interest, he remarked.

The diplomat expressed confidence that Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to great Britain will be successful.

He said that the Soviet leader and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will discuss many political issues and ways of further promoting bilateral relations.

The British public, he pointed out, is looking forward to the signing of an agreement on cooperation in space exploration which envisages the possibility of sending a British citizen to space on board a Soviet spaceship in 1992.

The two sides will also probably discuss prospects of setting up British and Soviet business centres in London and Moscow.

Article Queries UK Human Rights Record

PM3003141389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by R. Ivanov under the rubric "Human Rights: From Mutual Recriminations to International Cooperation": "People in Glass Houses..."]

[Text] There's always room for improvement, and no one has a monopoly on the truth. These two interlinked postulates now lie at the heart of the Soviet approach to ever-expanding relations with other countries, including in the humanitarian sphere. Essentially this is nothing more than an invitation to engage in dialogue, exchange experience and knowledge, and learn from each other, which must result in more reasonable, humane, and rich contact among peoples and states.

But this approach is still finding it difficult to make headway in certain Western capitals. Some figures in those capitals simply adore the pose of an infallible referee who makes categorical accusations against other countries, primarily socialist ones. A particular propensity for this is shown by London, which continually stages diplomatic demarches concerning "human rights violations" in the USSR and other socialist countries.

What can be said about this? As is well known, the Soviet Union firmly adheres to all the obligations it assumed under the Helsinki agreement, including those concerning human rights. Public human rights organizations operate freely in the USSR. True to the international obligations it has assumed, including the recent accords in Vienna, the Soviet Union immediately started formulating appropriate amendments to its internal legislation with the aim of ensuring increasingly full individual rights and freedoms. Nonetheless, we do not reject criticism of us when it is well-founded.

As for Britain itself, its position in this sphere is at the very least ambiguous. It goes without saying that this country has deep democratic traditions. Its parliamentary system is one of the oldest in the world. The British people carefully preserve such values as tolerance and respect for another person's opinion. But one cannot fail to see something else.

Britain is almost the only country which does not have a constitution or other legislation enshrining and guaranteeing citizens' basic rights and freedoms. Questions connected with the rights of the individual are not examined in Britain in statutory parliamentary legislation, but are the subject of court decisions.

The doctrine of so-called "parliamentary sovereignty," which presupposes the "supremacy" of Parliament in the legislative sphere, operates in Britain. In order for the provisions of an international treaty signed and ratified by Britain to enter into force with respect to its territory and legally regulated persons, the appropriate rules of the international treaty have to be "incorporated" in British law by an act of Parliament. Such a system contains opportunities to evade the fulfillment of international legal obligations, including in the human rights sphere. It is well known that Britain has not incorporated in national law the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Its position in the human rights sphere is still further complicated by the increase in the government's executive power. Abuses connected with this became particularly widespread after the Conservatives came to power in May 1979. The National Council of Civil Liberties, a public human rights organization well known in the British Isles, has calculated that more than 70 administrative and legislative acts resulting in substantial limitations of the rights of trade unions, women, young people, ethnic minorities, and other population groups have been published and implemented during Tory rule. "In recent decades," the appeal to the country's public recently published by the council says, "the government has taken away from us many freedoms which we took for granted.... It has curtailed our right to hold rallies and demonstrations and to join a union, the right to elect local organs of power to our own taste, the right to receive information, and the right to freedom from discrimination. When these rights are taken away from part of the population, everyone's freedom is under threat."

The authors of the manifesto called "Charter-88" and published at the end of last year, make a similar assessment of the situation now prevailing with regard to human rights.

Attacks on the individual's rights and civil liberties take diverse forms, but their aim is invariably the same—to suppress discontent and to establish control over the thoughts of those whose activity the ruling circles see as a threat to their complete supremacy. It is precisely with this aim, THE OBSERVER reported recently, that more than 30,000 telephones belonging primarily to trade union activists and other democratic organizations, are tapped annually in Britain.

The drawing up of so-called "blacklists" of "rebels" and "troublemakers" from among the working people and their trade union leaders by organizations of British businessmen should also be placed in this category of gross human rights violations. According to information from THE OBSERVER once again, the so-called "Economic League" alone, which is in the pay of big capital, keeps up to 20,000 people on these lists.

The tragic situation of the millions of people living in Northern Ireland is well known. Instances of blatant discrimination on religious grounds, arbitrary arrests and the prolonged detention in custody of opponents of the semimilitary regime established there, the absence of elementary justice and universally recognized procedural norms in the examination of cases in the Northern Irish courts, the intolerable conditions of prisoners' detention—this is a far from complete list of illegal acts by the British authorities in this unfortunate region. On countless occasions they have been angrily condemned by the international public. Indictments of British policy in Northern Ireland have been passed in the European Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg.

But all this is like water off a duck's back to official London. Literally a few days ago the Conservative majority in the British Parliament once again extended the operation of the emergency legislation in Northern Irish territory which involves the so-called "special Diplock courts," in which there is no jury and the entire proceedings are conducted by officials appointed by the government.

What this means in practice is graphically demonstrated by a letter published in the MORNING STAR 27 February this year. "I was arrested when I was 20 years old by the British Army, using special laws which allow a suspect to be held for 7 days' interrogation," Adrian Kelly, prisoner in the notorious Long Kesh prison, writes. "I was tried in a 'special Diplock court' where a single judge sits who takes the place of everyone, including the jury. I was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment."

The years of Conservative rule have been marked by persistent attempts to limit press freedom. A whole series of court cases have been brought with this aim against journalists and persons who helped them collect information. In some instances, as with, for example, the television documentary "Secret Society," matters went as far as the breaking and entering of editorial offices and the confiscation of files belonging to journalists.

Now British journalistic circles are following with anxiety attempts by the government to get through Parliament new amendments to the 1911 law on so-called "official secrets." In an open letter to the government published by THE TIMES newspaper, a large group of prominent journalists and newspaper editors stated that if these amendments are adopted, not only people who supply information to newspapers but editors themselves may end up in prison.

The proverb says: "People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones." Undoubtedly, London will do itself quite a favor if it remembers this truth a little more often.

Karpov Receives UK Forces Institute Director

PM3103090689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 24 March USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Karpov received D. Bolton, director of the British Royal United Services Institute.

Shevardnadze Receives French Foreign Minister

LD2803161189 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Tuesday [28 March] met French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas who arrived in Moscow to attend the opening of an exhibition, "The Art of the 20th Century in France: The Epoch of Discoveries".

During the talk the ministers considered the issues of bilateral relations and several international matters.

Foreign Policy Consultations Held With Finland

LD3103091189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Soviet-Finnish consultations on foreign policy planning issues have taken place in Helsinki. All sides conducted a constructive exchange, rich in opinions and thoughts on general issues of international development and the situation in Europe and the north of the continent. The Soviet delegation to the consultations was headed by Mendelevich, chief of the Evaluation and Planning Administration of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and the Finnish delegation by Karhilo, deputy secretary of state in the Finnish Foreign Ministry.

Latin America & Caribbean

Economic 'Difficulties' With Cuba Viewed

PM3003144189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with P.I. Kormilitsin, Soviet trade representative in Cuba, by correspondent A. Kamorin in Havana under the heading: "The Soviet Union and Cuba: New Stage in Cooperation"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The scale, prospects, and problems of Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation were the subject of a conversation between IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kamorin and Soviet trade representative in the Republic of Cuba, P.I. Kormilitsin.

[Kormilitsin] The start of Soviet-Cuban cooperation coincided with a difficult time for the Republic. The U.S. blockade deprived Cuba of vitally essential goods, and the abolition of the sugar quota drastically reduced its currency inflow. Consequently, the most important thing for Cuba was to obtain preferential credit and assistance in restoring its foreign trade, which was provided by Soviet-Cuban agreements. To briefly sum up the path traveled so far, last year trade and economic ties between our countries amounted to R8.9 billion. More than 600 important economic projects have been built or are in the process of being built in the country with Soviet assistance, of which some 400 are already operational.

[Kamorin] There is no doubt that these are impressive figures. However, I have heard people voice the opinion that the quantitative increase in the scale of our exchanges with Cuba has reached the maximum. What is your view on this?

[Kormilitsin] We have to be realistic. Cuba is not a large country and its export resources are limited. The Soviet Union's potential also has its limits, of course. A high level of economic and scientific-technical cooperation is envisaged for this 5-year plan period. To get some idea of the scale of this cooperation, it is enough to name just a few projects: a nuclear power plant, a large heating and electric power plant in Havana, and an oil refinery. I think it would be difficult to beat this level of cooperation.

Moreover, the Cuban economy now has considerable reserves, which make it possible to shift the emphasis from new construction to enhancing the returns on those capital investments made in the past. These returns must be felt more strongly both here in Cuba and in our own country—in the form of goods we need. This subject is closely linked with an issue on which we are often criticized: dissipation of resources. It is true that we have had "big ideas" in the past about taking on a lot of projects at once. But Cuba has extensive plans for development, and so it is very difficult to cut the lists.

[Kamorin] Perhaps the situation will be helped by the introduction of new forms of cooperation: the creation of joint enterprises and the organization of direct ties, which will link supply enterprises in the USSR more closely to their Cuban partners.

[Kormilitsin] I am not sure that joint enterprises will prove a good form of cooperation for Cuba. Our Cuban colleagues feel rather cautious about this as yet unfamiliar proposition.

As for direct ties—they are something for the future. In quantitative terms, this form of cooperation is still not very developed: Since May last year, when the corresponding agreement was signed, 16 pairs of partners have begun work and there are agreements for another 15. This is an extremely small number, because our strategy of cooperation should be focused on these direct ties.

[Kamorin] Will this development strategy not come into conflict with those changes in the status of our enterprises envisaged by the restructuring of the economic mechanism?

[Kormilitsin] That is a difficult question. We are already beginning to experience difficulties in meeting our delivery commitments stipulated by intergovernmental agreements. What is happening? Those goods we receive from Cuba are needed not by individual enterprises but by the country as a whole. The 4.3 million tonnes of sugar, for example, which the Soviet Union will receive this year, are equivalent to one-third of the country's total sugar consumption and one-half of our entire output.

But Soviet people obtain sugar through a centralized system, via the trade network. Soviet supply enterprises receive transfer rubles for deliveries to Cuba. How are they to use this money? Although the ruble is transferable, they cannot use it to buy equipment from the GDR, for example—CEMA does not yet provide for such multilateral transactions.

The development of our own wholesale trade market could partially resolve this contradiction. But we also have to solve the problem of our partner enterprises' being able to use their "Cuban" money to import goods and materials in short supply—if only from other CEMA countries.

There is also another interesting proposal. The Cuban Ministry of Basic Industry has come up with the initative of organizing vacations for the members of Soviet partner enterprises in Cuba—one of the world's top resorts—as a way of covering expenditure.

[Kamorin] In a recent interview with the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI, C.R. Rodriguez, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers, said: "The Soviet Union and Cuba are beginning to have open differences on questions concerning the new 5-year program for the development of the national economy, credit from the Soviet Union, and other problems." Could you comment on this statement?

[Kormilitsin] There are some difficulties, of course. But disputes are a natural, normal stage in any negotiations. The most important thing is for the two sides to try to eventually reach an agreement which will benefit the development of the Cuban national economy and serve the interests of the Soviet Union. With regard to the difficulties connected with the restructuring of the Soviet economic mechanism, which I have already mentioned, you must understand that they are only temporary. There are no differences between the Soviet Union and Cuba on the fundamental issues of interstate relations.

UN Representative on Gorbachev Cuba Visit

LD3003054289 Moscow TASS in English 0535 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Havana March 30 TASS—The entire world public is looking forward with great interest to the official friendly visit of Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Cuba, Constante Mucio, resident-U.N. representative in Cuba, said in a TASS interview. The Soviet Leader's upcoming visit to Cuba will be his first trip to Latin America and will, therefore, be of immense importance to the countries of the entire region.

Thanks to his steadfast position and active involvement in the work for peace, the Soviet leader enjoys immense popularity among the people of our globe, Mucio said. A very interesting process of renewal is currently under way in the world, which in many respects is related to new thinking, the Soviet leadership's realistic approaches to tackling international, specifically, regional problems. The USSR's eagerness to establish more durable relations with Latin American states draws a positive response here.

Mucio stressed that in his view the visit will help Latin American states and developing countries on the whole to sense more keenly their involvement in the changes occurring in the world and the need to pool efforts to make it a securer place to live in.

Cuban Friendship Society Official on Ties

PA2503222989 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0200 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Interview with (Anatoliy Vekarevich), first vice president of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society and deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—recorded in Russian fading into Spanish translation]

[Text] [(Vekarevich)] Cuba has traveled a long and hard road in its struggle for freedom. We know how hard its struggle has been and, as you know, we have made it a common cause. All Soviets know today's Cuba and its active cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries, especially the CEMA member states. We know the role Cuba has played in the promotion of our common policies—disarmament, the creation of a joint security system and a new international economic system, the struggle against neocolonialism, and a fair solution to the Third World's foreign debt problem.

[Reporter] Can you comment on Mikhail Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Cuba?

[(Vekarevich)] Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Cuba will be important for the effort to strengthen relations between our countries. I believe it will enable us to further increase our economic and scientific cooperation as well as cooperation in other areas. The visit will also provide an opportunity to exchange information on the situations in our two countries and specifically on Soviet restructuring and the Cuban rectification program.

This information will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of the problems being faced by both our countries. I also believe that Gorbachev's visit to Cuba will contribute to the resolution of the Central American conflict. The resolution must be based on the principles of respect for sovereignty, equal rights, nonintervention, and national reconciliation. To do so is to practice the new political outlook's principles that are actively being implemented by the Soviets and backed by the Cubans.

[Reporter] Several Western media sources have recently been spreading false rumors about differences between the USSR and Cuba. What can you tell us about this?

[(Vekarevich)] We are solving problems related to the present phase in our country's development. Cuba is a country that has freed itself from the neocolonial system. From the very beginning, Cuba has had to solve a very difficult problem; its society was based on a single culture and it had to become a socialist country with a developed economy. Cuba is solving the problem and is constructing a socialist country alongside the United States.

The United States does not only pose a constant threat to the Cuban revolution's achievements but to the very existence of an independent and socialist Cuba. In other words, Cuba is solving its economic and social problems using the methods that are required to [words indistinct] its development. We must praise the many ways that socialism can be developed. Each country has the right to form its own society in the way required by its citizens. The USSR and Cuba have common goals, and therefore all speculation regarding our differences is groundless.

[Reporter] One last question: Your institute studies Latin American problems. Have you made recent studies of Cuba?

[(Vekarevich)] Our institute is enthusiastically conducting in-depth studies of the Cuban revolutionary experience and of the way socialism has been built in that country. For example, we concluded a three-volume study entitled "The Construction of Socialism in Cuba." The first volume covers economic and social matters, the second discusses ideologies, and the third reviews bourgeois criticism of the development of socialism in Cuba.

We have also prepared a study on the relations between Cuba and other Latin American countries, and we intend to continue to investigate Soviet-Cuban relations. We will soon publish the second book on this topic. The first book was published in 1971, and defined Soviet-Cuban plans for cooperation during the first decade following the revolution. The second book will analyze cooperation plans for the next 20 years. Work on that book is continuing.

* 'Fiji Disease' Claims Aimed at Cuban Exports

*WA1807O174 Moscow TRUD in Russian
5 Mar 89 p 3*

[Article by L. Platonov: "The Provocation Did Not Succeed"]

[Text] Western media recently spread as a loud sensation a version of a story that Cuba's sugar cane had become infected with "Fiji disease." Anonymous diplomatic sources in Havana were cited, which, so the story goes, asserted that Cuba was forced to cease its sugar production, burn its plantings to the ground and not replant sugar cane for several years.

What is this "Fiji disease?" What aim does the fabrication of such assertions serve? Their denial caused a real sensation in Cuba.

At the Institute for Sugar Cane Research, I was told that "Fiji disease" really does exist. It arose on the islands by that name back at the turn of the century. Yet the area of its distribution is fairly limited. This is Australia, Oceania, and parts of east Africa. A mosquito-like insect serves as the transmitter of the disease. The disease is not spread over great distances. Thus, any manifestation of the disease may be the result of some extraordinary circumstances, for example, accidental or intentional distribution of infected seeds.

It is a serious illness. The sugar cane infected by it stops growing after a time, and then dies out completely. But this disease has never existed in Cuba and does not exist in Cuba at this time. Participants in a scientific forum taking place in Cuba, from a group of countries, the sugar cane experts of Latin America, are convinced of this.

So what is the intent of Western propaganda—anything other than intentional provocation? Why was this necessary? Cuba is marking a record year for sugar production. Someone, it seems, wanted to undermine its relations with countries that purchase its sugar and with those with whom Cuba is conducting scientific cooperation.

Shevardnadze Greets Peruvian Counterpart

*LD2403171589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 24 Mar 89*

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has sent a telegram of congratulations to Guillermo Larco Cox, foreign minister of the Republic of Peru, in connection with his appointment to that post. The note expresses the hope that the friendly relations and constructive and mutually advantageous cooperation which have developed between our countries will develop further, in the interests of both states and in the cause of peace throughout the world.

CPSU Congratulates Dominican Party Chief

LD2503173989 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee cordially congratulated Narciso Isa Conde on his re-election general secretary of the Dominican Communist Party Central Committee. The CPSU Central Committee wished him and all the Communists of the Dominican Republic successes in the campaign for the interests of the country's working people, for peace, democracy and social progress.

Colombian Communist Leader on Current Situation

PA3003174889 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Statement by Gilberto Vieira, general secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, to correspondent Petr Poldenkov in Bogota "recently"—recorded]

[Text] One important characteristic of the Colombian situation is that social and political conflicts have been on the rise. There have been armed conflicts between guerrillas and the military for a long time in Colombia. Because of the extent and duration of the conflict, we could say that the guerrilla movement has become an armed opposition to the current system.

Mass movements and struggles by the workers and the people have demonstrated that there is a sense of unity. In view of this, the most reactionary Colombian sectors, including the military, have unleashed a plan to exterminate the PCC [Communist Party of Colombia], the Patriotic Union, other leftist organizations, the labor movement, human rights activists, and Catholic priests who defend the interests of the people.

Colombian Communists are working to implement the guidelines of our 15th congress, which was held last year. These guidelines state that it is necessary to form a very broad, democratic, and patriotic front in Colombia to stop the dirty war, the extermination operation, militarism, and backwardness, and to open a path for an effective democracy. The Communists have to work daily to strengthen the unifying nature of the working class and the peasant movement, as well as the unifying nature that appears in other Colombian sectors, such as students and women. The PCC believes that now its main task is to help these unifying movements make progress to eventually build a broad front to form a government that makes a concerted effort for democracy and peace in Colombia.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Addresses Media Leaders 29 March

*PM3103111389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1-2*

["At the Crucial Stage of Restructuring: M.S. Gorbachev Speech at Meeting With Leaders of the Mass Media on 29 March 1989"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text]Comrades!

I would like to bring up two issues today: the results of the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and, in a preliminary way, of the USSR people's deputy election campaign. We prepared for the plenum at length and thoroughly, since it concerned one of the most important human problems—one which, at the 19th party conference, we described as a "sore point" in the life of our society. We regard this plenum as a major step in the framework of the restructuring process, as an important advance for the entire restructuring, since the matter in question is one of the main areas of its implementation.

We proceeded from the view that unless we resolve the food issue and unless we devise a modern agrarian policy, restructuring would not gain momentum, would not get going. At the same time, however, we took into account the fact that one can hardly expect profound changes in the agrarian sector either if they don't occur throughout society. Here, as they say, everything is tied up in a single knot.

In connection with this, I would like to mention that in one way or another, the idea sometimes creeps into our debates that one can remove a problem from its context and, as they say, attack it and solve it. I don't think that this is being suggested for the worst of reasons, but at the same time we know from the past, and now from our own experience as well, that as soon as something begins to lag behind with us, it immediately takes a serious toll on many other areas of restructuring as well. For this reason, those who continue to believe that some problems can be taken out of context and addressed in isolation from other problems and processes are, first, themselves displaying a lack of understanding, and second, leading others astray.

We would like to find easy ways, but there aren't any. This is how it must be put frankly and openly; this is how it must be understood. All attempts to propose an alternative to restructuring have yielded nothing; what is more, they are only hampering it.

It is just such an objective understanding of the situation that has made us conclude that radical economic reform is necessary. This is precisely why we also needed political reform. We have seen that without activating all institutions—state and political institutions—without giving them new quality, new functions and above all without the people going out through political reform to participate in deciding practical affairs at all levels—from top to bottom—it is impossible to implement what we have conceived.

Food is the real, fundamental problem. If we resolve it, this will be a colossal gain not only in the economy, but also in the social and political sphere. If we cannot resolve this problem, then, frankly speaking, we may ruin the whole of restructuring and seriously destabilize society. If we do not truly come to grips with this matter in the near future, this will seriously affect the entire development of the country.

It is precisely the scale, importance, and acuteness of the food problem that have determined the need for it to be put in a stern political form at the Central Committee plenum and in the final documents and the decisions adopted.

It is fundamentally important that for the first time in many years the plenum regarded the radical changing of ownership relations, production relations in the countryside, the switch to new forms of economic management, and the fundamental changing of management methods as paramount among the solution of economic problems. I want to draw your attention to this, bearing in mind that this signifies a fundamental change in our views on matters of development not only in the agrarian sector but in the entire economy.

Therefore the results of the plenum and the political appraisals and directives elaborated by it go beyond the framework of the agrarian question and are of fundamental general theoretical, general political, and general economic importance.

New approaches will determine our long-term work both in the agrarian sector and in the economy as a whole. On the basis of these approaches it is necessary to tackle the tasks of invigorating the whole economy and raising it to a new level of development.

The plenum's decisions require immediate measures. After all it has put forward a major sociopolitical task—that of, in the very near future, removing the acuteness of the food problem and ensuring a stable satisfaction of the population's food requirements in the 13th 5-Year Plan period, taking account of the implementation of a whole complex of measures throughout the economy, including financial improvement.

This, comrades, is a major socioeconomic and political task. In this regard we shall all be undergoing a very strict examination by the age. But there is no other possibility. We must in this time resolutely break through to a better situation regarding food supplies.

However, if the market remains in the state it is in today, nothing will come about, comrades. We see how unbalanced the economy has become and what an enormous mass of money has appeared as a result of grave shortcomings in the country's financial economy and as a result of the fact that earnings in our country are still not linked closely with the end result of production activity and labor productivity growth.

Every year we generate an enormous mass of money, the growth rate of which outstrips the increase in the production of goods and food.

After the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum there was also an increase in the production of goods and foodstuffs. This increase also exists today, but we cannot feel it. Last year the production of goods for sale to the population increased by R24 billion, but who felt that? The situation turned out to be worse, because during that time money incomes and wages grew more rapidly than the production of goods. This is why we must, while dealing with the agrarian sector, simultaneously resolve questions relating to improving finances as well. Otherwise everything may come to nothing, everything will be drained of life.

I repeat, in following the path that we have worked out, and implementing our new agricultural policy, we will be taking our principal exam. We must pass it.

Generally, comrades, we are faced with huge tasks connected with great novelty and with mastering new approaches. All this, of course, means we must conduct ourselves in a new way.

I imagine that at present a particularly great amount of work is being placed on the shoulders of the party, and this means on the mass media, which we do not separate from the party, as well. It is difficult to suppose that we can tackle any sort of tasks successfully without them.

Why am I talking like this? Under the guidance of the Leninist principles and Leninist approaches it is necessary to try to convince and work with people. People must feel that we are underpinning everything new that is coming into our life not only with slogans, not only with political directives and government decisions, but that we are creating an economic and legal foundation for radical changes, for people to live better and feel more confident. After all, this is a very serious turning point; to take on responsibility, to really be in charge and reap the fruit of one's labor. This requires a great breakthrough in consciousness, comrades. The agrarian sector will fulfill the role of a trailblazer and pioneer in mastering the corresponding forms of management and forms of administration.

The cause will proceed with difficulty without the work of the party, without serious work by the mass media, and without an understanding by the people of the measures being advanced.

And if we do not restructure the thinking of all the agricultural workers and of the specialists and leader in the agrarian sector, if we do not change the thinking of our society as a whole on these questions, then the seeds of the new agrarian policy will not sprout quickly and it will be difficult to count on a good harvest.

It is essential to conduct a serious conversation with the peasantry, with all the workers of the agrarian sector, through party work, through all forms of organizational and ideological activity, and through the mass media. And it is especially important to rely on what we have. After all, over the years we have already accumulated much that is good and efficient. It is necessary to proceed from life itself. This process is unusually deep.

Here, naturally, various interests will clash because the new forms of management, the new methods of administration, and the entire system of measures which the plenum and the government documents have proposed affect everybody quite profoundly.

Our press has already presented many pictures of how leasing and contracting are proceeding, of how independence is showing through and how it is being received by leaders and speicalists, and how the toilers themselves react to it. No idealization is necessary here. I will say bluntly that the situation in our country is not ideal. Take the farms that are operating at a loss. Wages are good at many of them, and people are, in principle, not doing badly. There are other problems there—there are no roads, and there is, so to speak, no proper infrastructure, and yet there is a guaranteed good income. That is just one example.

Everything, of course, will be complicated, comrades, very complicated. Movement from the old and familiar to the new and unknown is always difficult. All generations are linked with the past: They are various people—rank-and-file toilers, specialists and managers at all levels. It has permeated, it is inside all of us. We shouldn't simplify anything, we should see everything as it is. There should be no euphoria. We will have to do some very serious work.

It is important, both for party organizations and for the mass media, to adopt a firm position—to defend and promote the ideas and decisions of the plenum. I can tell you in advance: None of the decisions which have so far been drawn up, which are being adopted today, or which will be adopted tomorrow, will be ideal. Only the test of life, verification by life show the advantages and the weak and strong points of this or that decision, document, and so forth.

In our country, however, some sort of epidemic has now spread, both among the scientific workers and in the press: As soon as this or that decision is made, the first thing they do—even without having understood the crux of the matter—is to start seeking its weak points, causing confusion in people's minds. And I will tell you frankly:

Practically no decision is made which would not previously have been assessed by labor collectives, public organizations, the Academy of Sciences, and so on. And the further we go the more this process will develop, expand and become deeper, so that the substantiation of our decisions is even greater. Of course, we have to note the weaknesses, so that they do not grow, so that we do not compound errors. This has to be seen and signalled. Nevertheless, the main thing today is that these decisions are based on experience, on what has been approved by practice. These decisions are vital, and that is why they have to promoted with amendments being introduced wherever necessary.

We have now analyzed in depth from whence we have come, what we have passed through, and what lessons we should draw. Why are we carrying out this analysis? We should apply these lessons to life, to transforming it. Let us renew our life together, let us think together how to make it better. Let us combine our efforts. We must get rid of subjectivism and arrogance, and put common interests above all else. We require forward movement along the tracks of restructuring, since only this movement, only concrete deeds rather than loud verbiage, whichever side it comes from, can fundamentally advance and defend restructuring.

All in all, the most important thing is to proceed from life, to see the shoots of things new, to see the real—even if it's only initial—experience in the mastering of new approaches in the agrarian sector.

The task of the party bodies and the mass media is to organize party and nationwide monitoring of the adopted decisions. We need public monitoring, comrades. First and foremost through the mass media. That is the strongest monitoring, possessing the greatest glasnost.

It is very important that all supporters of profound changes in the agrarian sector act in a favorable public atmosphere. This atmosphere should be created by the party and the mass media. I am talking about the utmost support for new things. And, conversely, all those who are trying to hinder the process of in-depth changes in the agrarian sector should at the very least feel uncomfortable.

At such a sharp turning point as our restructuring we cannot lose that which we have acquired over these years: the ability to compare points of view, to elucidate this or that problem, to explain the tendency, significance, correctness, or erroneous nature of this or that process. We can no longer live and move ahead without this.

Today we are all simply experiencing a need for this, and if there are certain setbacks and failures along the way, we must not make a tragedy out of it and not get into a panic. We must learn from life itself, to acquire experience and know-how in the course of practical work, and to learn to work in the new way.

I consider it of fundamental importance to stress one of the principal directives of the plenum—to support in every possible way the most diverse forms of economic management. I mention this because one frequently sees that certain publications in our country are attached to just one directive. But I think that we will gain if we give all the forms a chance to develop. Let everyone be convinced in practice for himself that it is possible to move forward only by using new forms, methods, and approaches—the achievement of scientific-technical progress, and new technologies. We have the word "to introduce" which has put down roots. Let us more broadly and more clearly address the process newly becoming established, let us show it and support it. May people become convinced of its advantages and make the choice themselves. Only then will there be a completely different way of working, a completely different attitude and completely different results.

The plenum advocted revealing the immense potential of collective farms and state farms by internally restructuring them on the basis of leasing and the creation of cooperatives. However, the plenum also spoke in support of agricultural firms and agricultural combines, in support of peasant holdings, personal subsidiary holdings, leasing not just within collective farms and state farms but also outside them. The plenum also supported the idea of integrating industry and agriculture, and not only within a framework of creating subsidiary holdings, but also in other forms. This exists, for instance, in Vladimir Oblast and in Kirov Oblast, and may the integration proceed in all its forms. In other words, comrades, no dogmatism, maximum support for all that reinforces independence and the feeling of being master of the land. The most important thing is to allow the reserves that actually exist in this sector of the economy to be mobilized, to obtain rapid returns in the form of increased agricultural output.

The plenum placed particular emphasis on the need to radically modernize the entire processing industry, and to improve the system of storage and the processing of agricultural produce as quickly as possible. This could rapidly give us tangible results. If, overall, capital investment in our agrarian sector is increasing at the same level in various areas, here it is 1.5-2.0 times greater.

We are now tackling this task on a grand scale, having brought in the defense industry, civilian machine-building and major construction organizations. We must cope with this program. The press must show how things are going here and provide a platform for production workers and check their work.

There's one more issue of a practical nature, from solution of which we expect rapid returns, and this is the role played by private subsidairy plots. Now that those of our people who have a piece of land have begun to feel confident, having seen that we are on their side, they are getting down to work with increasing vigor and enthusiasm.

In those oblasts where work has been done on private subsidairy plots positive processes are taking place in tackling the food supply problem. However, of course, the food problem as a whole cannot be solved by this method alone. Yet it is possible to considerably improve things. Much has already changed: A natural form of integration is occurring. Owners of private subsidiary plots are provided with feed, young animals, services, and transport on a contractual basis.

His livestock will be received from him, and the other produce will be taken away without any trouble. He rears his own piglet or other animal and at the same time, on the basis of a contract, fattens up livestock for the farm. The resources of the individual farm and labor which is not activated in the public sector are mobilized in this way.

All reserves must be brought into operation. Everything which helps to solve the food problem and everything which is linked with the realization of the possibilities contained in our agrarian sector—all this is correct, and all this benefits the people and benefits socialism. I would like to dwell especially on the question of low-profitability and loss-making collective and state farms. This subject was at the center of discussions both before the plenum and at the plenum itself. It continues to agitate not only rural workers, but also party and economic officials and all of society. We should be on our guard against easy, simplified approaches to it. Extreme points of view clashed in the discussions. Some believe that society must continue to subsidize the low-profitability and loss-making work of these farms. The arguments here are these: They say that one must not place the blame for loss-making on these labor kollektivs alone, for this also happened as a result of serious errors in the economic and social development of certain regions and in approaches to solving these issues. There is a lot of truth in this. Look at what a blow was inflicted on the countryside by the mistaken policy of deploying productive forces in the Non-Chernozem Zone! Surely it is not the peasant's fault that it is mainly old men, who cannot cope with working the land and looking after livestock, who have remained in many farms there now? But we cannot agree with the view that these farms should be left on a subsidy. Others say: These farms should be immediately "closed down" and the land distributed to other collective and state farms, industrial enterprises, lessees. Close them down, and tomorrow, they say, everything will be all right, life itself will put everything in its place. Even some serious economists think so. Amazing! Once again abstract constructions and schemes not in contact with life. How could we walk over living beings, wreck people's lives with an economic plow! After all, we are talking about farms on whose territory lives a quite large proportion of the population, and which give us some 20 percent of production. Consequently, could we, just like that, issue the command to "shut down," let the people live any way they like? You cannot act so cavalierly in big politics, which affects the fundamental basis of society! And why do such "daring persons" frequently get support in the press?

I'll say this, by the way: Yes, we should keep under control, under critical fire, all negative processes—equally errors, mismanagement, and other shortcomings. This cleansing function of the press is extremely important. But it is no less important to show ways of overcoming shortcomings, ways out of created situations. There are quite a few reprimands from the working people about these omissions in the activity of the press.

I will once again put to you our understanding of the approach: to promote democracy, maintain and extend glasnost, and to exercise control. But, comrades, you have to see the whole picture, show the people what the new attitude to work and the creative searching give, what form they take, what the country gets from this.

The plenum's political directives are as follows: Over the next year or 2 to solve the problem of loss-making through using new forms of management and the new opportunities that have arisen.

Many of these enterprises, and this applies particularly to the low-profitability ones, could manage to cope with solving this task. Naturally, serious work, a more responsible attitude to things, and more efficient management will be required.

But there will probably be farms which will not manage to rise up by themselves. And here it is necessary to determine their destiny in the interests of both society and the labor collectives, either by transferring the lands and production assets to stronger farms, or on the basis of integration of industry and the countryside, or on the basis of transferring lands and assets to lease collectives. This requires thorough, comprehensive, deep, and serious work. After all, each collective farm and state farm has its own history and its own face, and there must be a concrete approach to them. And I wish to state once again that hasty, stereotype decisions are not to be allowed. The decisions must be made with consideration for the real situation.

There proceeds from the analysis of past experience, which the plenum attached great attention to, the fundamental and paramount conclusion that it is necessary to decide everything while taking into account the interests of people and society, and excluding all administrative meddling and imposition of one's personal position. And this refers not only to higher-ranking bodies, but also to the personnel working at the collective farms and state farms themselves, and in other sections of the agrarian sector.

Administrative meddling is still prevalent among many of our leaders of collective farms and state farms, and among specialists. This is precisely why leasing does not suit them. They want to give instructions and orders, to command, so that people are dependent on them. But leasing means partnership relations, mutual obligations, and no meddling. That is independence. Precisely the same thing holds for financial autonomy, contracting and agricultural firms, and agricultural combines if there are to be real relations of financial autonomy there too. This is why it is so important for us today to overcome the habit of administrative meddling at the level of collective farms and state farms, too.

It is impossible to allow the fundamental restructuring of economic relations in the countryside to be turned into the latest campaign for compulsory dissimination of the new forms of economic management. No, utilizing the preconditions and the decisions that have been adopted on this score, we must open a broad road for the transformations which have become pressing and which correspond to the interests of the people.

The plenum's decisions on matters of the CPSU's agrarian policy, the decree on leasing, and the government decisions on the restructuring of economic relations and on the social development of the countryside will be published in the coming days. These documents will reveal new opportunities in the agrarian sector.

Immense work lies ahead for it to be transformed in a revolutionary way. The mass media should conduct a regrouping of forces, to strengthen the links with the agrarian services, to open up new addresses of front-running experience, and to more broadly attract the cooperation of competent people to appear on radio, television, and in the newspapers. Let's have a little more competence, a few more people who write from life experience, and a little more interest in covering the difficult problems of the agro-industrial complex! Now, comrades, I would like to express a few reflections on the results of the major political campaign, which the elections for USSR people's deputies turned out to be. True, they have not yet ended. Further voting for about 12 percent of USSR people's deputies is still to take place. Altogether, this will make for certain amendments in our work and in the schedules for holding a congress of USSR people's deputies.

As yet, of course, we do not have at our disposal full information on the elections and, naturally, a profound analysis of both the election campaign and of the elections themselves and their political results is still to be made. Nevertheless, one can already express preliminary evaluations, and sum up some preliminary results.

I think we have good grounds for saying that 26 March 1989 will go down in the history of our state as a major landmark, a very important boundary in the political and social history of a country proceeding along the road of restructuring.

We have every justification to speak about further progress of the policy of restructuring, and of the entire democratic process. As a result of the elections we have gained the opportunity of forming a supreme organ of power, which we think will be capable of resolving the new and more complex and responsible tasks of the present stage of restructuring.

You and I have participated in the very process we wanted to achieve with our decisions on restructuring, democracy, and political and economic reforms, and by our policy of glasnost and openness. The law on elections of USSR people's deputies was also directed toward this. There is consistent implementation of the course worked out at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, subsequent plenums, and the 27th party congress, and consolidated at the 19th party conference. For all the diversity of views and judgements—and there was a sufficient amount of that during the election campaign, too—nowhere was the policy of restructuring called into question or doubt. On the contrary, people decisively spoke in favor. Moreover, in the present election campaign people's critical attitude to the way in which the reforms are proceeding in a number of spheres, and in a number of regions and towns, has manifested itself quite vividly. The issue of how things are progressing, what results they are producing, and what is putting a brake on the processes of restructuring was the focus of attention of the whole election campaign. Enormous interest, we believe, was shown in restructuring being further developed, and in the political course toward the renewal of society being implemented.

The party's political line of restructuring and democratization has received support, let us be frank, in a complex, contradictory situation. From the point of view of internal development, this campaign coincided, looking at it in terms of time, with the most acute, complicated and responsible period of restructuring, when it has acquired broad scope, when economic and political reforms are in progress, and a number of other acts affecting the interests of all strata of society are being prepared. Major changes are taking place in the reorganization of the state apparatus. The restructuring of the party apparatus has taken place. Scientific establishments have been and are being transferred to financial autonomy. Processes of renewal are under way throughout the cultural sphere. Restructuring processes are taking place in the Army. The whole of society is living through a deep, complicated period of assessing decisions and bringing forth new forms of reorganizing life. Here we must also take account of considerable problems of an economic character. I mean both the financial situation and difficulties in the market, the expenditure of thousands of millions connected with eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and the earthquake in Armenia, and losses in connection with changes in the world market situation—the reduction of oil prices and such like.

And from without, a fair number of all kinds of fabrications are being thrown up at us concerning the eocnomic situation, interethnic relations, the cultural sphere, the political leadership, and so on. Far from everybody is happy with our restructuring.

The election campaign took place in that situation. In such a complex atmosphere, at such a critical stage, we received powerful support for the policy of restructuring, support for the party's line. If party and state bodies and individual leading officials were criticized, then it was precisely for the fact that restructuring is proceeding too slowly.

In a word, comrades, this means that people have accepted heart and soul the policy of restructuring. This is perhaps the most important political result of the elections.

Restructuring must be defended. However, first and foremost, it should be defending itself by concrete deeds; by the fact that it must keep moving forward consistently and resolutely.

The elections which have taken place have confirmed again what immense opportunities lie in socialist democracy, in our system of people's sovereignty for the expression of opinions, interests, and attitudes. Therefore, a further most important conclusion is prompted: We must proceed even further along this road and not seek any other roads, and not get involved with political speculations which some people have started to express in the press, or with all manner of abstract hypotheses, including those on a multiparty system. Democratism is determined not by the number of parties but rather by the role people play in society.

Let us say bluntly, comrades: we are taking the first steps in political reform. For the meantime there are many failings in this and we cannot even get by without confusion. We see the imperfection in the processes which have unfolded on the basis of the new laws. Nevertheless, this is a major step both in democratization and in the development of political reform. The election campaign and the elections proper have taken us far forward. People have come to feel their strength, even though perhaps we still lack political culture at times. There is no harm in that, for it will come.

We will indeed go on to guarantee, through restructuring, real effective participation by the people in the administration of the affairs of the country in conditions of a law-governed state. I think that now everybody has gained added conviction in this respect.

We are on the right road despite all the losses and costs. To sum up what has been said briefly, one can point out that the policy of the party and the work of party organizations have been seriously tested by life and real political practice. The party did a great deal to ensure that the elections really were democratic. The party demonstrated once again its potential for being a political vanguard in our socialist society.

There is something else I would like to say. We must sum up the results of the elections and evaluate them on the basis of new criteria. We wanted there to be competition both during the election campaign and at the elections themselves, and we did everything possible to ensure that there would be. The choice was up to the voter. Now it must be seen as a normal phenomenon: You got 40 percent, all well and good, but that's not enough for you to win. You were beaten by the one who got 51, 54, and so forth. That is a normal process, a democratic process, and one must not create any tragedies out of it. One must reflect and draw conclusions, indeed, but that is quite another matter.

Strong and active forms of socialist democracy are being engendered. The present election campaign has confirmed afresh that the authority of the party can grow and can be reinforced not by means of directives, instructions, and pressure, but only as a result of ever increasing activity in the work of party organizations and expanding their links with the people, their support for democratic processes and of everyhthing new that restructuring brings with it.

For it is no accident, comrades, that there was a normal, businesslike atmosphere both in the election campaign and at the elections themselves, and that there was a great deal of activity and support from people, in precisely those places where restructuring is proceeding more rapidly and where there are already real results.

I emphasize that the level of activity of people is higher where the real fruits of restructuring are noticeable, where they feel the concern of their leaders and can see their closeness to the people and their desire to improve the situation, and where moral renewal has been tackled and the struggle against negative processes engaged solidly.

People understand that in order to create a better life, time and work at full capacity are required; but they do not forgive inattentiveness, mismanagement, and attempts to keep bureaucratic offices as impregnable as fortresses. Those who are slow to restructure and who are not widening their ties with working people have lost. This is how I would put it: The elections have confirmed what we have for a long time and repeatedly stated. In the context of the democratic process that has began to unfold people will judge leaders of all ranks according to concrete actions, according to their deeds, according to their civic stance.

It would be correct for us to conclude that there was a strongly critical mood during the election campaign. We also felt it on our trips around the country. The criticism was mainly connected with how restructuring is proceeding and how party and local Soviet bodies and leadership cadres are performing. The criticism also embraced what is happening in the labor collectives themselves, so that the discussion that took place in the course of the campaign was a large-scale one, it was very useful for restructuring.

Now people are reacting to criticism differently. What happened before was that critical remarks would be levelled, they would be listened to and discussed, and part of the remarks would be taken account of in the mandates. However, by and large everything continued as before. No. Now people will not put up with someone who remains deaf to what was said in the months prior to the election. This must be seen and understood in order to make assessments and draw conclusions for work from a realistic standpoint. Why do I say this? Some people believe that criticism and a high degree of exactingness on the part of the people are supposedly "failings" of democracy and glasnost. One cannot concur with such views.

Of course, because of a lack, as I have already said, of political culture, the process of democratization cannot get by without excesses, unsubstantiated fault-finding, and demagogy. And all the same one must see the main thing: In the course of the election campaign, concern was shown for the fate of restructuring. It is very important to put this on record and to draw correct conclusions on this basis both for politics and for practical work.

We must see that some of the journalists sometimes slipped into speculation, into rash conclusions, or sharp—and at the same time also frivolous—opinions on great, vitally important questions.

This also occurred. Nevertheless, despite all these failings, our information media did a great deal of work. And in the future, too, they must vigorously participate in the process of restructuring and promote in every possible way the discussion of all problems now affecting society; and this should not be done to suit the needs and tastes of some forces or other, but in the interests of the people and of the country.

The majority of the people understand the situation that the country has found itself in, they are convinced of the vital necessity of restructuring, they see that there is no other way out, that there isn't any serious alternative to it. They view things realistically. But they cannot accept that in many directions, in many regions, at enterprises vital tasks are being tackled slowly. I think that this gives the Central Committee and party committees grounds for action on matters relating to cadre policy.

In 3 years, approximately two-thirds of the managers of enterprises, building sites, collective and state farms, and local Soviet and party organs have been replaced. Many of them have retired on pension or were relieved of their duties due to serious shortcomings in their work, and some of them were transferred to other work. The selection of cadres, taking into account restructuring processes, is not a simple matter.

But I am convinced that restructuring itself will promote and select people who are talented and capable of doing things under conditions of democracy, glasnost, openness, and renewal of all spheres of life in our society. We also must renovate and perfect our journalistic corps. We shall not cope with the tasks of restructuring without a new influx of party, local soviet, economic, scientific, creative, and journalistic personnel.

Much that has been subjected to criticism in the course of the election campaign is connected with the activity of local bodies. Moreover, it concerns issues which do not require large capital investments to resolve, but rather efficiency and decisiveness. In particular, people have been criticizing the fact that public order has deteriorated. This concerns Moscow, too. Here and there hooligans and criminals have simply become insolent. In response to the criticism from the working people, we must take decisive measures for restoring public order. The utmost support for workers' control is also necessary. Regulations concerning it are currently being prepared. The mass media should give greater coverage to its activity. I would like to speak about one more problem. Under the conditions of shortages which we have, leveling tendencies are once more being revealed. But we have only just begun an offensive against leveling which has caused considerable losses for the society. And the press cannot confuse social justice with leveling. They are different things. While strengthening social security and justice, we cannot support an atmosphere of leveling. That's fatal, that's a blow against the entire economic reform, against the entire society, against its morality.

The main thing is that we must consistently adhere to the socialist principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor." And the pay received by each member of society must be related to the final results of his labor. Only if we act resolutely in the center and in the regions, in labor collectives, and persistently conduct the economic reform, will opportunities be created for resolving major social tasks.

A great deal has already been achieved in this respect. As far as improving wages is concerned, such measures have covered 9 million industrial workers, 6 million in the sphere of national education and 3 million people in health care. All these issues were "knocking at the door", so to speak, and we resolved them. We have resolved issues concerning support for those who live in the North and the Far East; we have introduced coefficients to ensure that those regions become habitable and that the country makes more rational use of their potential.

A package of measures has been implemented to improve care for multi-child families, the sick, and the aged. The supply of medicine for these categories and the provision of free meals to the sick have increased by an average of 50 percent. The minimum pensions for collective farm workers have been raised. Or let's take the improvement in housing, social, and domestic conditions: The fact that the increases in housing construction now amount to 16.4 percent has cost us billions of rubles. In 3 years, we have given people more than 4 million garden plots, and this has met with great support. And indeed, retail turnover has continued to grow over these years. We have to continue pursuing our policy of reinforcing the economy's social orientation.

The most important thing is to advance restructuring resolutely. The people want restructuring to continue, so that the processes of democratization and glasnost should not only be maintained, but grow stronger and develop; so that our press should express public opinion more fully and in greater depth, and illustrate, with a knowledge of the facts, the difficulties and complexities of the transition to new forms in public life, in the economic sphere, in administration, in science and culture. There's not yet enough of this in the press. Less attention is being paid to the man of labor and to labor altogether.

By the way, in the course of the election campaign, the working people, in speaking out in favor of deepening the processes of democratization and glasnost, and of intensifying constructive work, posed in sharp focus the question of protecting restructuring against the attacks of all sorts of demagogues and anti-Soviet elements. We must treat this very seriously. We cannot be, we do not have the right to be, naive dreamers. Without democracy and glasnost there is no restructuring. But equally, we must protect it against those who are throwing useless slogans at us. There has to be complete clarity here.

And now for one more issue which is of fundamental importance. The party is not relieving itself of responsibility for the deformations of socialism committed in the past. Recognizing this, it took upon itself the initiative of elaborating the policy of restructuring, showed courage, and will be devoted to this policy to the end in order to move the process of renewal forward. We cannot live without this; we will pursue this line. And the party itself, in carrying out this work, is giving an example of a critical attitude to its own activity. It will continue to free itself and cleanse its ranks of inactive people who give it nothing, and who often simply discredit it and bring it into disrepute. But that cannot cast doubt upon the need for party activity, particularly now, at the present crucial stage of restructuring.

Our work has its failings, of course. There is tardiness and lagging. I tell you, we simply cannot keep up with everything. But the party is changing, is restructuring itself, and is itself becoming new.

At the stage of restructuring, the party acts as a force of political initiative for social development. In the social processes which are unfolding, and which are being accompanied by discussions, quests, and diversity of opinion and, I shall put it bluntly, by centrifugal tendencies, the party's integrating role is irreplaceable. Its policy, its organizations, its ideological work, and its cadre policy are needed. Whatever sphere we might take—the economy, politics, interethnic relations, culture—everywhere the party's role is irreplaceable. All this must be done by the party within the framework of democratic processes, within the framework of the Constitution, on the basis of precise demarcation of the functions of the party and state apparatus. This process has begun, and it will continue.

I wish to say once more: It is precisely the party which is acting as the guarantor of the democratic processes and the deep transformations which are underway in society. The role of the party as the political vanguard is particularly important today when the country is at a watershed stage in its history, when the process of the formation of a socialist law-governed state is underway.

And in conclusion: The work of the mass information media should be conducted from the position of restructuring, in such a way as to show the full picture of the processes that are taking place, so as to reflect all the dialectics of life, and to foster the advance of everything that is new and progressive. If there is a framework for our glasnost and our democracy, then it is in the interests of the people and socialism. These interests are boundless, and socialism has an immense potential for self-propulsion and development. Our people have made their historic choice. Within the framework of that choice, let us together also advance the process of restructuring.

I wish you, comrades, all the best!

KGB Foils Hijacking Attempt in Baku 30 Mar

LD3103120989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1149 GMT 31 Mar 89

["Airliner Hijack Foiled"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar (TASS)—On 30 March, an unidentified passenger handed a demand to the crew of a Tu-134 airliner on the Voronezh-Astrakhan-Baku route at 2320, following take-off from Astrakhan, to the effect that after arrival in Baku he should be given 500,000 pounds [currency as received] and that his departure for Pakistan should be ensured. In the event of a refusal to meet these conditions, he threatened to blow up the airliner. A USSR KGB unit was sent to Baku to oversee the operation to put an end to this extremist action. Contact was established with the passenger at Bina Airport in Baku; as a result of negotiations it was found possible to persuade him to release women and children on board (27 people) and subsequently 6 more passengers. Forty-two passengers and the crew remained on board as hostages. Despite the negotiations, the extremist continued to insist that his demands be met.

A series of measures was carried out by the forces of the USSR KGB units for the purpose of freeing the hostages and rendering the criminal harmless. At the same time options were worked out to possibly satisfy the demands put forward, in the event of extreme circumstances. Having appraised the situation that had taken shape and taking into account reasonable risk, the decision was made to arrest the extremist on board the aircraft. By the resolute actions of personnel of the units he was rendered harmless; the passengers and crew suffered no harm.

The arrested person turned out to be Stanislav Skok, born in 1966, of no definite occupation and no fixed abode. Since January 1988 he has been wanted in connection with a criminal offense. He acquired the plane ticket by using someone else's passport. Criminal proceedings have been started. An investigation is being conducted at the USSR KGB.

Further Reportage on 26 Mar Election Results

Votes for Yeltsin Detailed

PM3003155489 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 89 p 2

["Report of the Okrug Electoral Commission of Moscow City National Territorial Electoral Okrug No 1, Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics, on the Election of a USSR People's Deputy"]

[Text] The list of voters in Moscow City Okrug No 1 included 6,857,325 people, of whom 5,722,937 took part in the voting, or 83.45 percent of the total number of voters in the okrug.

392,633 voters, or 6.86 percent, voted for candidate deputy Yevgeniy Alekseyevich Brakov. 5,238,206 voters, or 91.53 percent, voted against the candidate.

5,118,745 voters, or 89.44 percent, voted for candidate deputy Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. 512,094 voters, or 8.94 percent, voted against the candidate.

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 92,098.

On the basis of the results of the vote, Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, USSR minister, and CPSU member, who lives in Moscow City, was elected USSR people's deputy for Moscow City National Territorial Electoral Okrug No 1, RSFSR, having received the votes of more than one-half of the voters in the election.

Daily Interviews New Deputies

PM3003133589

[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 March 1989 carries in its First Edition on page 1 under the rubric "USSR People's Deputies Called Upon To Speak" a series of brief interviews with successful candidates people's deputies. They are named as Admiral V. Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, USSR people's deputy for Kaliningradskiy Rural Electoral Okrug No 178; Lieutenant Colonel N. Petrushenko, USSR people's deputy for Leninogorskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 622; and Captain S. Yastrebtsov, USSR people's deputy for unidentified electoral okrug.

Party Election Failures in Kemerovo

PM3003142989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Kostyukovskiy article: "Among Electoral Okrugs: Workers' Support"]

[Text] Kemerovo—At the No 13 National Territorial Okrug S. Nevolin, chief doctor at a hospital in Novokuznetsk, who was nominated by miners, defeated Z. Altynbayev, chairman of the "Azat Seber" Collective Farm [kolkhoz]. In the territorial okrugs voters gave more than one-half of the votes to N. Bashev, director of the "Kolmogorovskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz]; Yu. Golik, dean of the law department of Kemerovo State University; A. Chernykh, chief agronomist at the "Unginskiy" Sovkhoz; Yu. Kaznin, lecturer at the Kemerovo Medical Institute; T. Avaliani, deputy director of the "Kiselevskugol" Association; Prof V. Medikov of the Siberian Metallurgical Institute; and N. Yermilov, director of the "Kuzedeyevskiy" Sovkhoz.

At first glance it seems hard to explain the defeat of party and soviet leaders. But take a closer at the situations that occurred and many things become clear. In the rejoinder "Campaigning...Against Oneself" our newspaper described (without naming names at that point) how the team of candidate A. Lyutenko—chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom]—"tried too hard." This was surely one of the reasons for his defeat: People do not like it when they are pressured and when patently unscrupulous campaigning methods are used.

However, in the campaigning for oblast party committee [obkom] First Secretary A. Melnikov, they clearly "did not try hard enough." It reached the point where he was left virtually without an agent by the end of the election campaign: One was at a session, another on vacation, and so forth. The election leaflets were bland and dull. But the main reason was rather that the first secretary is still little known in the Kuzbass and was elected literally just a few months ago.

These days people are exchanging impressions and discussing the question: Are the election results in the Kuzbass okrugs an expression of lack of confidence in the party? I believe that there is absolutely no reason to put the question in those terms. It is a different matter that there is a lack of faith in the apparatus, whereas the party itself, on the other hand, received support: Only one deputy—lecturer Yuriy Kaznin—was non-party. Even during the times of the "quota system" the oblast never saw a result like that.

Finally, the most painful topic of today's discussions: In the territorial okrugs of our purely workers' region there is not a single worker deputy. On election day I talked about this with many voters at the polling stations. Some expressed alarm at this situation; others noted, rightly in my view: "But if scientists and leaders are nominated and supported by workers and if it is workers who vote, how can our elected representatives not be workers, not be people's deputies?" Indeed, chief doctor S. Nevolin was nominated by miners at the "Abashevskaya" mine, lecturer Yu. Kaznin by the machine builders of Yurga, T. Avaliani, deputy director of the "Kiselevskugol," by the collective of the machine plant named for Chernykh....

Furthermore, there are workers among the Kuzbass deputies. They are Vladimir Gvozdev, team leader at the "Raspadskaya" mine, elected from the CPSU, and Nadezhda Borisyuk, an operator at the "Sibir" central enrichment factory, elected from the Committee of Soviet Women. In addition to those two, a further three have been elected from social organizations: V. Romanov, chairman of the oblast trade union council, elected for the trade unions; A. Tsigelnikov, deputy director of enterprise construction of the "Leninskugol" Association, elected for the Lenin All-Union Communist Youth League; and P. Druz, elected for the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans. Thus after repeat elections [perevybory] in the Prokopyevskiy okrug, the Kuzbass will have 14 deputies. Kemerovo Oblast has never had so many representatives in the country's parliament.

Results of Elections in Armenia

NC3103084689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Elections for the USSR people's deputies took place on 26 March 1989 in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. Votes were cast in eight territorial electoral okrugs for 10 candidates, and for 53 candidates in 32 national electoral okrugs.

Representatives of labor collectives and of public organizations, individuals elected by the candidates, and representatives of the press, radio, and television were present at the polling stations to count the votes, determine the election results in the okrugs, and (?supervise) the entire election (?process).

Seventy-two percent of the possible 1,953,809 voters voted.

The following were elected as USSR people's deputies: Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet; Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; Vazgen I, Catholicos of all Armenians; (Levon Karapet Palchyan); Viktor Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian Academy of Sciences; (Elmir Arutyunyan), (?machine operator) of (Elektrashark) Production Union and [words indistinct] brigade leader; and other party and soviet workers and cultural and scientific officials.

The elections in three electoral okrugs were considered null and void since less than half of the voters cast their votes, and neither of the two candidates in one electoral okrug was elected because the necessary number of votes was not received.

On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law on People's Deputies' elections, repeat elections are to be held in these okrugs.

Pre-election Report on Medvedev Platform

PM3103103289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 11, 12 Mar 89 p 8

[Aleksey Flerovskiy report: "Glasnost: No Holds Barred; Or Roy Medvedev's Platform If Elected People's Deputy"]

[Text] "I will not docilely vote for every law proposed at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, but only for the ones which are consonant with my views, and civic awareness and the interests of my constituents," said Roy Medvedev, historian, philosopher, and author of over two dozen books published in many languages over the past 20 years, the best-known being "Let History Judge", one of the first studies of the causes and effects of Stalinism.

Roy Medvedev is among six candidates from Moscow's Voroshilovskiy constituency.

"I was never afraid to openly criticize each and every negative fact in the Soviet Union's public and political life and am going to continue that in future using any rostrum," said Roy Medvedev.

In 1970, Medvedev along with Academician A. Sakharov and fellow physicist V. Turchin wrote to Brezhnev proposing a programme for step-by-step democratization of Soviet society over five years.

"We called upon party and state leaders to continue what had been begun by the 20th CPSU Congress. But our platform didn't coincide with the U-turn to conservatism in the early 1970s. Political, economic and cultural stagnation was obvious."

That "U-turn to conservatism" made Medvedev an outcast. ("Different kinds of pressure were brought to bear on me, including threats, summons to the Procurator's Office, a search of my apartment and the confiscation of my archives.") Medvedev was expelled from the CPSU for publishing "Let History Judge" abroad (this book is currently being printed here, in installments, by Znamya).

I asked Medvedev to what extent the 12 points of his 1970 programme (openness, pluralism, release of all political prisoners, freedom of movement in and out of the USSR, etc) corresponded to the perestroyka spirit.

"Perestroyka has gone further than that", said Medvedev. "Then, almost 20 years ago, we didn't try to link the issues of democratization and radical economic reform. The essence of my present election platform is in advancing that process and the uncompromising struggle for a truly democratic, socialist law-governed state."

If elected Roy Medvedev fully intends to exercise his right to table draft laws. He is prepared to raise the issue of glasnost's material base at the Congress of People's Deputies.

"What kind of glasnost is it when we can't even read our classic authors because of a lack of paper? Our domestic paper-producing and book-printing industries are shambles."

Historian Medvedev also plans to exercise the deputy's right to conduct independent research and to see any documents necessary for such research.

"Today, a person researching, say, how the power mechanism works on different levels is like a doctor with no instruments, who must peer into the patients' eyes to locate diseases."

Talks with Voroshilovsky electorate convinced Medvedev that three issues are especially urgent and could seriously affect perestroyka's progress: housing ("people have to wait for six or seven years to get a flat, while some manage to circumvent the rules - what about social justice then?"), food ("how much longer shall we be humiliated by standing in lines?") and ecology ("we get information in miniscule quantities - even radiation dosimeters are not sold to ordinary citizens").

These problems disturb the electorate. Candidate Roy Medvedev shares their concern.

Latvian Candidates Meet Voters Before Election

PM3103095389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 p 3

[LATINFORM correspondent S. Lyalyushkin report: "Plain Speaking"]

[Text] Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, Ya.M. Aboltinsh, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Gosplan, Yu.Ya. Dobelis, engineer at the technical center of the "Lauku Tseltniyeks" Republican Association, and E.Ya. Rozentsveyg, chairman of the "Tseriba" Cooperative, took part in the debate at voters' meeting with the candidates for USSR people's deputy registered for the Proletarskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 708.

Most of the people in the assembly hall of Riga Secondary School No 87 spoke Russian, and this was naturally bound to make its mark on the direction of the discussion. Thus, for instance, in connection with the discussion of the draft Law on Languages in the republic, many voters expressed their concern that the standard of teaching of Latvian in Russian schools is still totally unsatisfactory. I realize this topic is not new, but here is what Ya.Ya. Vagris had to say about this:

[Vagris] I see an omission on our part here. Incidentally, this is why the draft stipulates a transitional period—3 years. Moreover, we arrived at the opinion that, at the same time as discussing the draft Law on Languages at a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, we must also resolve the question of formulating and implementing a comprehensive program for ensuring the appropriate material base for the transition. If we are talking about the Latvian language as a state language, then the resolution of questions of preparing material provision for its introduction must also be raised to the state level.

If you have doubts about any specific formula in the draft law, make sure you hand in your proposals to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Question: Wouldn't it be logical, having formulated a Law on Referendums, to hold a referendum in the republic and then tackle the Law on Languages?

[Vagris] Comrades, is the language problem one that has to be voted on? After all, it is a matter of real bilingualism. On the other hand, we must comprehensively discuss this topic and then adopt a considered decision. So I repeat yet again: If you think that your viewpoint may not be carried in the newspapers, submit your specific proposals to the Supreme Soviet. Comprehensive, considered dialogue is needed. Threats of strikes are a road leading the problem into an impasse. [Vagris ends]

If you recall, about 8 years ago our press reproached Reagan for deleting various social programs from his budget, Ya.M. Aboltinsh said. But despite everything, even after the budget purge, the federal program to support and assist ethnic minority languages was left in. Why, do you think? Because the Americans believe that any language that has any currency in the States is an additional national wealth, in the direct sense of the word, for it is a unique vehicle of information. And if we are taking our cue from general human values today, there is no greater value than knowledge of several languages.

E.Ya. Rozentsveyg drew voters' attention to the pact that similar processes are taking place today in other union republics, too, specifically in Belorussia, Moldavia, and the Ukraine. If there are any sports fans here at the meeting, they must have noticed that the Kiev "Stroitel" club has now become "Budivelnik" and Donetsk's "Shakhter" has become "Shakhtar"—that was his rather unexpected way of backing up his point.

Yu.Ya. Dobelis did not dwell in detail on this question, apparently going along with his rivals' opinion. Answering voters' questions concerning his activity within the Latvian National Independence Movement, Yu.Ya. Dobelis stressed that he is categorically opposed to any violent methods of struggling to achieve his objectives, be it the question of the future of the Latvian language or the problems of Latvia's political and economic development.

Many speeches by the candidate deputies offering forthright answers to voters' sometimes extremely pointed questions prompted not only a lively response in the hall but sometimes a most turbulent reaction which often even overstepped the bounds of parliamentary courtesy. Often questioners, having received exhaustive answers, attempted to change the speaker's mind through the force of their own sometimes weighty but sometimes mostly emotional arguments. However, this can clearly be explained to some extent: Many of us have yet to learn election ethics, like the ability to hear out any opinion, even if it sometimes directly contradicts our stereotypes. The candidate deputies themselves gave a lesson in democratic tolerance of views in conducting a restrained and courteous dialogue with voters.

For instance, asked whether the Central Committee cannot see what a reactionary and antipeople organization the International Front is, Ya.Ya. Vagris remarked:

"I subscribe to more considered assessments. I expressed my attitude toward the International Front in my recent television speech. Future events will show how far I was right."

Speaking about ways of developing regional economic accountability, and in particular of switching from the chiefly departmental to the territorial principle of management, Ya.M. Aboltinsh remarked:

"There can be no doubt that the leasing of enterprises to labor collectives is a promising path of economic development. Unfortunately, neither the director nor the ministry today has any real desire to make an enterprise a lease enterprise. What is the way out? As I see it, it is this: The labor collective meets and, in accordance with the law, adopts a decision on withdrawing from the ministry, dispatches this decision to the ministry, and at the same time hands in to the local soviet an application to conclude a lease contract with it."

Here are the points of Yu.Ya. Dobelis' program concerning the republic's path of industrial development:

"There is a need for a fundamental review of the structure of production in Latvia and for a clear, scientifically based analysis of what our industry gives to the republic's inhabitants, how much output is exported, and how much raw material is imported. In the future I see the republic's industry as producing ecologically clean, energy-saving output. Revising the attitude toward labor, we must ensure observance of social justice and, in particular, the abolition of special privileges."

E.Ya. Rozentsveyg concluded the candidates' speeches by stressing the need to regulate the system of remuneration in both the state and cooperative sectors of the economy.

So the meeting is over. But that is not an end to the debates. In the lobby, in the school corridors, and on the steps at the entrance to the hall, voters surrounded those from whom they must make their choice in a week's time.

* Designers Union Elects Deputies 21 Mar

WA3001695 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 p 1

[TASS report]

[Text] The participation in solving the problems of all mankind, such as environmental protection, preserving cultural monuments and national traditions, as well as improving conditions for production and living—this is a partial list of the tasks which must be realized by the candidates for USSR people's deputies from the USSR Designers' Union. On 21 March, in Moscow elections conducted in an expanded plenum of the country's new public organization, it was determined which of the six candidates would receive the five deputies' mandates.

As a result of the secret balloting, people who have put great effort into the creation of the Designers Union became deputies.

I. A. Andreyeva, L.-A. A. Kuchinskas, Yu. B. Solovyev, Z. K. Tsereteli and O. V. Chernyshev were elected people's deputies.

'Otechestvo' Movement Holds Constituent Meeting

PM3003143989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[S. Kapustin report: "With Thought for Russia"]

[Text] The constituent meeting of the Moscow Russian patriotic movement "Otechestvo" ["Homeland"] has been held.

The conference hall of the All-Union Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments was the venue for a gathering of writers and scientists, historians and engineers, representatives of labor collectives and student youth.... Totally different people with different views and intentions, but also united by concern for the motherland, for Russia.

"One of the purposes of creating our society," Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor A. Kuzmin, a representative of the action group, said, "is to strengthen and develop the patriotic awareness of all Muscovites."

Its founders include Hero of Socialist Labor M. Alekseyev, chief editor of the magazine MOSKVA; S. Vikulov, chief editor of the magazine NASH SOVREMENNIK and winner of the Gorkiy State Prize of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic; Hero of Socialist Labor A. Ivanov, chief editor of the magazine MOLODAYA GVARDIYA; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Volodin, academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council for problems of Russian culture; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. Gerasimov, leading scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy....

"Otechestvo's" program is the revival and development of treasures of material and spiritual culture created over the centuries of the people's history. The movement will struggle for good-neighborliness between natural living conditions and modern technology in Moscow.

Any Moscow resident of full legal age may become a member of the movement. The chief thing is that he should recognize the statutes, participate in this activity, pay his membership dues, and help to swell "Otechestvo's" ranks.

Baku Bureau on Realization of CPSU Decision

NC3103075589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 30 Mar 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report that the Baku city party committee bureau has examined the work carried out by the administration of the Baku Soviet Executive Committee internal affairs organ to realize the decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on 2 April 1988 in connection with the situation of the struggle waged against crime in the Soviet Union and the question of the additional measures required to obstruct disruption of laws in the country. A relevant decision was adopted.

Meanwhile, a recommendation was made that the way the CPSU Central Committee decision is being realized should be debated during the meetings that will be held by the rayon party committees and during the convocations that will be held by the rayon soviet executive committees in April and May 1989.

Baku Military Commandant Affirms Curfew Hours

NC3103053289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Notice by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Comrade residents of Baku: There have been rumors recently about the possibility of a reduction in curfew hours in the Baku City Special District. Precise information is being systematically and operatively conveyed to you through the notices and orders issued by the military commandant.

We once again bring to the attention of the leading officials of the administrations and establishments and the residents and guests of Baku City that, in accordance with the military commandant's order No 17 dated 16 February 1989, curfew hours in Baku are from 2400 to 0500.

In view of this, we draw the attention of the directorate of the city's cultural and educational establishments to the fact that the order concerning the curfew hours has the strength of law. All kinds of performances and physical training arrangements must end by 2230.

The situation in the city is normal and peaceful.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Koleshikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Armenian Media View Role in Upcoming Plenum

NC3003093889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] A meeting was held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee by the heads of the republic's mass media during which they discussed the role that the press, radio, and television can play in the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations.

The meeting was opened by Galust Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The meeting was also attended by Grigor Asatryan, chief of the department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Uzbek Radio Program Heard in Moscow, Leningrad

LD3003121589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0030 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Residents of Moscow and Leningrad now can listen to Tashkent radio. For the first time, the (Mashal) light information and musical program from Uzbekistan has appeared on the airwaves of Moscow and Leningrad. The program is broadcast in Russian and Uzbek. This event is yet another step in solving the problem of broader communication between nations and dialogue based on equality.

Powerful relay stations became the technical base for broadcasting programs from union republics in the capital. The stations had become obsolete owing to the development of glasnost in our country. The (Mashal) program is broadcast to Moscow and Leningrad via the relay stations from dawn until late evening every day. Residents of central regions now can receive prompt information from the republic and acquaint themselves with Uzbek art. Soon the call sign of the program will be heard in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian Federation, where many Uzbeks work.

Implementation of Uzbek Economic Plan Viewed

LD3003190189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 30 Mar 89

[From the "News from Uzbekistan" program]

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] The next important news, in my view, is the completion of the first stage of the implementation of the general outline of management of the republic's economy.

[Second unidentified presenter] I wonder, what has been done practically toward this end?

[First presenter] At the last session of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, it was noted in this connection that 15 ministries and departments in the republic have been united or eliminated, 2 oblasts and 14 rural rayons have been abolished, and 60 structural subdivisions have been reorganized. As a whole, the number of workers in the apparatus has been reduced by almost 30,000.

[Second presenter] Of course these are reassuring facts, but so far there have been few real changes for the better. This is, no doubt, something for the future.

[First presenter] I both agree and disagree with that conclusion.

[Second presenter] Why?

[First presenter] If one judges from the results of the development of the republic's economy in the first quarter, then there have already been some changes for the better, although there are also more than enough problems. So as not to be unsubstantiated, here is a short commentary prepared at my request by Anatoliy Georgiyevich Korneyev, head of the Economic Consolidated Department of the Uzbek SSR State Planning Committee:

[Begin Korneyev recording] I would like to note immediately that positive tendencies in the economy are making their way, overcoming many extraneous features of the past, and this can be seen from the results of work in the first quarter. The plan is being implemented under conditions wherein the new mechanism has enveloped all branches of material production and levels of management. In the first quarter, 60 enterprises worked in accordance with its second model. Twenty enterprises worked under conditions of full lease contracting. This made it possible to ensure a growth in industrial production by 5.5 percent for January-March of this year, as compared with an average annual growth rate for the first 3 years of the 5-year plan of only 4 percent. The contribution of cooperatives to resolving the tasks of saturating the market and improving public services is growing. As a whole, the plan for the production of consumer goods by the republic's industry has been overfulfilled for January-March of this year. Almost R60 million in these goods have been produced above plan. Moreover, the planned volumes for the extraction of oil, gas, and coal, and for the production of rolled iron, electric motors, tractors, and many other products have been reached for this period.

However, I would like to point out that, to this day, a significant number of associations and enterprises are not fulfilling many plan indicators. For example, one in every seven enterprises has failed to meet its contractual obligations to supply products. Goods worth almost R50 million have not been supplied to the consumer. The greatest lag in the fulfillment of contractual obligations has been made by associations and enterprises of the chemical-timber and agro-industrial complexes. The construction industry has alllowed a significant lag behind the established level of production, particularly in the output of cement and construction brick. As before, individual enterprises continue to manufacture products irregularly, which naturally has an effect on the work of related organizations. We are also concerned by the fact that production plans adopted by industrial enterprises have turned out to be slightly lower than the estimates of the state plan, by almost R320 million. [end recording]

Ukrainian Writer Rehabilitated Posthumously

LD3003120489 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Kiev March 30 TASS—Soviet author Viktor Nekrasov, once expelled from the Ukrainian Writers' Union and hounded out of the country, has now been readmitted to the union—posthumously.

The decision was taken by the organisation's presidium.

Nekrasov, a talented prose writer, was born in Kiev into a doctor's family in 1911 and trained as an architect before pursuing an acting career for several years.

During the Second World War he volunteered for the front and participated in battles at Stalingrad, in the Ukraine and in Poland.

Nekrasov returned to his native city after the war to write his famed novel "In Stalingrad's Trenches," a graphic portrayal of the crucial battle on the Volga.

But he was later expelled from the writers' union and had to leave the Soviet Union. He died in Paris in 1987.

Yuriy Mushketik, first secretary of the union's board, described Nekrasov's effective rehabilitation as a positive move dictated by democratisation and glasnost.

"Our organisation has come out for Nekrasov's books to be published anew and for his works written abroad to be printed in Ukrainian journals.

"A memorial plaque will be hung on the Kiev house where he lived," Mushketik said.

Solution to Ecological Problems Urged in Ukraine

AU3003124889 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Mar 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Nature Requires Protection"]

[Text] Radical restructuring in the republic's environmental work and the tasks of the organizations of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Nature were discussed on 24 March at a session of the society's council. Participating in the session were activists of the society, representatives of the republic's ministries and departments, and responsible functionaries of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Council of Ministers, and Komsomol Central Committee.

A report was delivered by Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and chairman of the Presidium of the republic-level council of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Nature. In the 3 years of the 12th 5-year period, he pointed out, the use of fresh water for production purposes dropped by 3 billion cubic meters, and harmful emissions into the air were substantially reduced. More than 70,000 hectares of waste lands were recultivated, new forests were planted, green zones in towns and settlements were expanded, and the area of the republic's conservation areas increased by 72,000 hectares. Capital investments for environmental purposes totaled R1.3 billion, including R479 million in 1988.

Having joined in socialist competitions under the slogan: "For a Leninist attitude toward nature," many labor collectives and basic organizations of the Society for the Protection of Nature contributed toward the effective work carried out to improve the ecological conditions in the republic. Winners in the 1988 competitions were: Voroshilovgrad, Lvov, Vinnitsa, Ternopol, and Nikolayev, oblast-level; Bershadskiy, Tarashchanskiy, and Korsun-Shevchenkovskiy, rayon-level; and Yevpatoriya and Kommunarsk, city-level organizations.

But the environmental work in the republic is still a long way from having achieved the desired change for the better. Surface and underground water sources continue to be polluted. In 1988, sewage discharged into reservoirs amounted to 2.6 billion cubic meters. Since mine and quarry waters discharged by Krivoy Rog enterprises contain many minerals, the situation in the basin of the Ingulets River remains very acute. The situation in Western Donbass is similar. Many of the Ukraine's 22,500 small rivers are in an unsatisfactory condition, and are becoming shallow.

Problems concerning air protection are also topical in the republic. Harmful substances discharged by fixed industrial sources of pollution in 1988 totaled 11 million tonnes. Enterprises of the ferrous metallurgy, electric power, chemical, petroleum, coal, and building materials industries accounted for the largest amount of them. Motor transport accounts for 36 percent. The ecological conditions in Dneprodzerzhinsk, Mariupol, Zaporozhye, Krivoy Rog, Dnepropetrovsk, Makeyevka, and a number of other industrial centers are particularly unsatisfactory.

All these violations can and must be eliminated. And the field of activity available in this respect for the public is enormous. It is essential to join efforts for constructive work in the protection of nature, to more vigorously win young people and members of spontaneous associations for the society, and to jointly settle ecological problems.

The session drew up ways to intensify environmental work.

'Illegal' Kishinev Rallies Discussed

PM3003144589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 3

[ATEM report: "Call for Reason Must Be Heeded"]

[Text] Last Sunday unsanctioned meetings and a mass march by citizens again took place in central Kishinev, grossly violating public order and thus destabilizing the situation in the city.

At about noon groups of people began to assemble at the monument to Stefan the Great. Soon the word was passed around to move to the Exhibition Hall in Victory Park. Despite the warnings which were issued about the illegal nature of the meeting, thousands of people gathered here. The participants in the meeting who mounted the steps of the building unfurled dozens of banners with slogans of provocative and inflammatory content. All kinds of rumors spread among the crowd, exciting it.

Then the crowd poured into Victory Square, although a recent decision of the city soviet indicated that it is not permitted to hold any demonstrations except holiday demonstrations there. Many young people rushed to the central rostrum, crushing the militia workers who had encircled it, injuring many of them. The actions of the thugs who climbed onto the parapet of the monument to V.I. Lenin can only be described as blasphemy.

Children were also brought in on the act. One boy, apparently a first-grader, was forced to hold a banner whose content he did not of course understand. In addition, the adults were putting him in danger: A crowd is always fraught with the danger of irreparable consequences, especially when passions are heated. And how will the numerous children remember this day? Will they remember the contorted faces of the leaders and organizers of the illegal demonstration and of the blackmailers who have lost their sense of political realism? Later it was a child who was told to raise the tricolor blue, yellow, and red flag on a tree near the party Central Committee building.

And again, as on all previous Sundays, the city's central transport artery—Lenin Avenue—was paralyzed. Some people were late in reaching the airport, the ambulance did not get to some people in time, and many Kishinev inhabitants were unable to spend their free days as they wanted. But meanwhile shouts were ringing out constantly above the crowd advancing along the avenue. Some one urged: "Down with the mafia!" But who exactly did they have in mind? Or a slogan against the international front. But is there really an informal organization of this kind? Slogans about making Moldavian the state language and about its script. But surely everyone knows that these questions are being resolved at the highest level, with the participation of scientists, writers, and the broad public? An appeal in support of M.S. Gorbachev. Yet it is the general secretary of our party's Central Committee who has frequently said that every citizen must respect the Soviet laws and that restructuring must be asserted by deeds and not words.

Proceeding along the avenue to Liberation Square, the participants in the procession advanced toward the building of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. Some tried to enter it by force but they were halted by militiamen who had to resort to help from servicemen. The most unbridled were arrested and charged in accordance with existing legislation.

The crowd dispersed only at 2030 hours. There was time to think and talk. The militia workers had entirely peaceable talks with the demonstrators. They talked about a great deal that was painful. And it became clear that all inhabitants of the republic have the same ultimate objectives—promoting restructuring and the solution of economic and social problems, preventing an ecological catastrophe, and, of course halting attempts to sow national discord. But for that it is necessary, figuratively speaking, to "build bridges," to listen calmly to viewpoints and mutual recriminations in order to find together a way out of any situation, even the most complex. And it is to be regretted that constructive talks of this kind are not being conducted today at enterprises or in institutions and students' lecture halls. Is it not for that reason that people incited by irresponsible elements are going out onto the streets and squares of the city?

Nor were conversations conducted here among the crowd by the numerous ideological workers who preferred to adopt the stance of onlookers. After all, how eagerly young people rushed to I.T. Gutsu, chairman of the city soviet executive committee, when he appeared among the procession's participants. The exchange of opinions may have been sharp, the debate may have become heated. But the main thing was that the talk took place in a well-intentioned atmosphere.

The press, television, and radio reported the unsanctioned meeting and procession in Kishinev on 8 March. At the time the law enforcement organs were rebuked: Why are they not revealing and naming the specific organizers of the disorders so that the public may know them? Today we can give their names. On that day, competent organs have told us, the most active were: L. Lari and N. Zhosu, poetesses; A. Myndykanu, proofreader for the journal SKYNTEYA LENINISTE; S. Gushilova, senior architect at "Moldgiprostroy;" V. Shtepa, teacher of physical education at the Kishinev medical institute; V. Movile, teacher at the Kishinev state university French philology department; V. Buzile, employee at the state local studies museum; and Ye. Kozhokaru, worker at the number 6 housing operation sector.

One conclusion is self evident: An end must be put to the dangerous development of events. The call for reason must be heeded.

Official on 'Absurd Rumors'

PM3103091989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with A.G. Davydov, chief of the Kishinev Internal Affairs Administration, by unidentified ATEM correspondent: "Stories and Facts"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Who gains from stories? The answer to that question is always simple—those who disseminate them. By exciting people with absurd rumors their organizers are pursuing their own clearly defined aims.

An ATEM correspondent talks with A.G. Davydov, chief of the Kishinev Internal Affairs Administration, about the stories disseminated after the unauthorized meeting held in Kishinev 12 March and the facts on what actually occurred.

[Correspondent] Rumors have started to spread through the city that members of the Mateyevich club are arming themselves with weapons obtained from the Baltic republics. Is that so?

[Davydov] I have no such information. I only know that there are calls to people to arm themselves and resist the militia workers. This information is being checked right now.

[Correspondent] Is it true that seven Moldavians have been killed in the city on nationality grounds?

[Davydov] That's absurd. The only thing that can be said about that rumor is that I received over the telephone an alarm call identical in content to the one reported to the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs by I. Katsaveyke, a literary staffer from the weekly LITERATURA SHI ARTA. Seven people of Moldavian nationality who had been brutally beaten up on grounds of nationality were allegedly taken to the "first aid" hospital accident unit. Katsaveyke and I were both told about this by a man who presented himself as first aid doctor L.A. Vizitiu.

First, there were no such beatings and consequently no hospital admissions. Second, neither in Kishinev nor in the republic is there a doctor named Vizitiu. It is nothing other than someone trying to use the situation to spread provocative rumors.

I can also say the following: During the recent events on Sunday, 20 militia workers were injured and one of them was hospitalized with a concussion. Many militiamen had their uniforms torn.

[Correspondent] And a last question: It is said that something terrible happened on Sunday—a child was crushed?

[Davydov] The best answer is the explanation given by V. Frunze, a 15-year-old inhabitant of Gratiyeshty village, Kriulyanovskiy Rayon, to an investigator of Kishinev's Frunzenskiy Rayon prosecutor's office.

We shall cite the text of his explanation without abbreviations or editing for style. "Essentially I should explain that I am fluent in Russian and want to give my evidence in Russian.

"Today, 12 March 1989, I arrived in Kishinev at 1500 simply to walk about, to go to the cinema, and I arrived alone. I came on the bus and got out at the terminus on Kotovskiy Street. I visited the bazaar and then Victory Park. At approximately 1630 hours, while I was in the park, I saw people on Lenin Avenue and walked to the square toward them. After a while all the people went toward the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee building and I went with them along the sidewalk on the opposite side to the Central Committee. I went to see what they would do. They all arrived and stopped near the Central Committee building. I came around in front of the crowd and found myself on the sidewalk in the first rows. There were people next to me, but I saw no one I knew. These people began to shout for Grossu to come out and talk with them. Then they all began to move toward the steps leading to the Central Committee building. And since I was in the front rows I could not leave, because I was being pressed by people on all sides. A number of militia workers stood where the steps begin. The militia workers said something, I could not hear because there was a lot of noise—people from the crowd were shouting. The crowd began to approach the militia workers, who put their hands in front of them to stop the people advancing on them. At that moment I was pushed from behind and I started to fall onto the hands of the militia workers—the militia workers did not hit me, and no one threatened me. At that moment I fell because people were pressing me from behind, and I stumbled and fell. Then people began to trample on me—who exactly trampled on me I cannot say because I closed my eyes. While I was lying, someone hit or trod on my leg and my back and the right side of my face. When I felt that things had grown a little calmer, I opened my eyes and saw I was in the middle of the crowd and the militia workers were next to the Central Committee building. Then I got up and started to run away. My nose was bleeding and somebody gave me a rag and I began to wipe myself. Then someone stopped a 'first aid' truck and I was taken to the first aid hospital.

"Question: Did any militia worker hit you deliberately?

"Answer: I was not hit before I fell and who trampled on me I do not know.

"I have nothing more to add. My words have been taken down correctly and I have read them.

"I should add that after I had started bleeding, my brother Ivan Aleksandrovich Frunze came up to me and my brother did not see how it had all happened.

"I also want to make clear that I told the doctor who examined me that the abrasion near my right eye might have occurred when I fell and scratched myself on the hand of a militia worker and I did not say that the militia workers inflicted the other injuries.

"This addition has been correctly taken down from my words and I have read it. I have no clarifications or additions to make."

...It is perfectly obvious that as the events in, for instance, Nagorno-Karabakh have shown, in certain situations rumors play a very dangerous role. People are in such an excited state that they are prepared to believe any fabrications spread among the participants in meetings.

Leningrad State Enterprises Group Formed

PM3003093489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with G. Khizha, president of Leningrad Association of State Enterprises and general director of "Svetlana" Association, by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Nevelskiy in Leningrad under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Leningrad Association of Enterprises"; date not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] On the initiative of leaders of Leningrad's leading industrial associations and A. Bolshakov, chairman of Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee Planning Commission, an association of the city's state enterprises has been set up.

At its constituent meeting, the participants adopted a program and statutes. What was the impetus for the emergence of a new form of relations among labor collectives, with what aim did the association arise, and what tasks does it set itself? These questions, put by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Nevelskiy, are answered by the association's president, G. Khizha, general director of the "Svetlana" Association:

[Khizha] At present, when the old—strong-arm—management mechanism does not work, and the new—economic—mechanism simply does not yet exist, we need levers that make it possible to work normally in the complex transitional period of restructuring. We intend to call into being new forces that will enable us to stabilize the situation. Even the second economic accountability model, not to mention the other, more sophisticated models, is bad, if only because it helps to step up inflation. The country already has too much money in circulation, and we are putting more and more pressure on, accelerating the work of the printing press. Given the present state of the financial system, normal economic accountability cannot exist. In our opinion, the correct tactics for radical economic reform cannot be developed without the active participation of major state enterprises. We came to the conclusion that a socioeconomic organization is needed that, on the basis of our economic and financial interests and our ideas on real life and real potential, can formulate an economic policy enabling us to advance along the path of restructuring without major, acute cataclysms or social tensions.

The association aims to unite the efforts of local soviets and enterprises and organize close collaboration among them as partners in resolving complex economic and social problems. It is called upon to defend the rights and legitimate interests of its members and actively to participate in the implementation of programs in the regional economic mechanism. Relying on businesslike cooperation with the local soviets, we operate on this principle: The richer the enterprises, the richer the city, and thus the better the conditions and the higher the living standard of its inhabitants.

Since we are operating in a single territory, we can pool our resources and direct them to where they are most needed today. Thus the association intends to help the city to implement the "Housing-2000" program. We are creating a large construction firm on a joint-stock basis, which will be equipped with the most modern housing construction equipment. We plan to organize joint subsidiary farms in conjunction with state farms, so as to supply labor collectives with food products.

A very important task is to fill the market with high-quality consumer goods. I am convinced that without a drastic increase in their production we cannot normalize finances or improve the situation existing in the country. Industry has yet to have its say here. Yet in the sphere of state enterprises this problem can be overcome rapidly and effectively if the appropriate conditions are created and provision is made for economic concessions—similar to those now enjoyed by the cooperatives. We have now set about drawing up documents and proposals in order to submit a precise program of action to the central organs and enlist their support.

The association has seven founding members, including the "Svetlana" Association, "Kirovskiy Zavod," the Leningrad Optical Mechanics Association, and the Leningrad Admiralty Association. We are receiving many applications to join from other enterprises in the city. Well, the road to the association is not barred to anyone.

[Nevelskiy] All the same, how will relations be organized among the members of the association, what will cement them?

[Khizha] Only their shared economic interests. The association has broad rights for autonomous activity both within the country and abroad. We will be able jointly to develop new avenues in economic policy and tackle economic and social tasks that are advantageous to everyone. Our managers' club is already in operation, and will hold seminars and "roundtables" with the participation of production managers and scientists. We plan to start our own press organ. We are not satisfied with the quality of specialists' training at higher educational establishments, and therefore we are thinking of opening our own educational establishment to "finish" young specialists. In time we will have a whole series of commercial organizations. I have already mentioned one of them—the construction organization. We began with this one, because housing is the most urgent problem at present. In the future we will study market forces, both at home and abroad, and formulate new methods of economic management.

I must admit that not all our forms of work are entirely clear as yet. Life will suggest more.

Georgian Editor on Happiness, Restructuring

*AU3003200189 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
29 Mar 89 p 3*

[Interview with Nikolay Cherkezishvili, "editor in chief of the daily KOMMUNIST and chairman of the Journalists Union of Georgia," by Nikolay Gavrilov in Sofia: "Rules of Everyday Life"; date not given]

[Text] [Gavrilov] According to Nikolay Cherkezishvili, chief editor of the daily KOMMUNIST and chairman of the Journalists Union of Georgia, it is high time for us to give up the rosy colors which we have misused for such a long time.

It is more than evident that I am talking to a happy man. He is 60 years old and seems to be in a relaxed mood. This is his first visit to Bulgaria, and although he has been in Sofia for only a few hours, he is already in a hurry to meet some Georgian friends.

We are talking about man's happiness.

[Cherkezishvili] It is so simple to be happy. It does not require much effort. The first rule is to have a purpose in life and to subject everything to this great purpose. My own goal is restructuring, which, to be frank, is the last attempt of reviving our system. I participate in this effort by having assumed the leadership of the largest newspaper in Georgia. It is called KOMUNIST and has a circulation of 700,000 copies, issued six times a week in the Georgian language. The second condition for my rule is that one should often laugh at oneself. This is a Georgian character trait—this self-irony —and it is a noble human philosophy. The third quality I cherish, as you see, is that I am loyal to my friends. Six of us were friends long ago, in kindergarten, and we still make a habit of meeting at least once in a month. The fourth virtue is the ability to communicate with people, to attract with the magnetism of sincere words, both in talking to them, and in writing....

Restructuring has not fallen from the sky. It was prepared. One of the first party organizations in the Soviet country which perceived its great goals and the opportunities of democracy in our society was the Georgian party. As early as 10 years ago we overthrew the old corrupt leadership and started talking about something new; we unanimously supported Eduard Shevardnadze, who was the newly elected party secretary at that time.

[Gavrilov] Are the Georgians avid readers?

[Cherkezishvili] You can judge this on the basis of the fact that 141 newspapers are published in Georgia, 12 of which are republican newspapers, eight oblast newspapers, 11 city papers, and 64 of which are district newspapers. All these newspapers are destined for a population of five million! It seems that every Georgian, Russian, Azerbaijani, or Abkhaz national holds at least one newspaper in his hand every day.

[Gavrilov] Does he read the paper, does he believe what he reads, does he like it, or not?

[Cherkezishvili] This is the heart of the matter as regards the effectiveness of our work.

Whether you are an engineer, an architect, or a machine tool operator, wherever you work—and this apparently applies to the greatest extent to us, the journalists—it is high time to give up the rosy colors. We should not exaggerate things; we should not use superlatives at every opportunity. No one believes in a beautiful style of writing and exquisite rhetoric any more. The magnetism of communications excludes praise as an instrument of influence, because this is an outdated method.

Nazi Annexation of Lithuanian Region Recalled

PM3003133989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "With Lithuania Forever"]

[Text] On 23 March 1939 the Klaypeda region—around 60 km of coast and 2,800 square km of territory—was snatched from Lithuania and affiliated to Hitler's Germany. This was preceded by a treaty on the transfer of the region which was signed in the night of 22-23 March. But to say "signed" is to distort the truth. The treaty was extorted from the Lithuanian government with the fascist knife at its throat....

"This event passed almost unnoticed by the world public against the background of other events occurring in such abundance in March 1939," Doctor of Historical Sciences Regina Zhepkayte says. "For Hitler, however, it was of no small importance. Having captured an important strategic position in the Baltic region, he began preparing for subsequent moves toward the east. Meanwhile, the European countries were in a kind of shock—on 15 March Hitler's troops occupied Czechoslovakia even though Hitler, who had previously added part of that country, the Sudetenland, to his possessions, had given an assurance that he had no further territorial claims in Europe.

"Prior to the signing of the treaty with Lithuania, Germany had exerted crude pressure on its government. Profascist organizations incited unrest and disorders in the Klaypeda region and provocatively proclaimed Germany's rights to Memel—the German name for Klaypeda. Of course, it was no problem for Germany to take this small territory by force, but as German Foreign Ministry diplomatic documents published in Britain after the war show, Hitler was waiting for a convenient moment. He was afraid of a powerful anti-German backlash in Lithuania which could have been used by other states.

"France and Britain were informed about the crude pressure on Lithuania but they advised the republic's government not to complicate relations with Germany. This 'neutral' position merely encouraged the Reich's aggressiveness. Only the Soviet Union protested.

"Having obtained the port of Klaypeda, fascist Germany soon turned it into a military base enabling it to control important communications routes in the Baltic.

"Thus began Hitler's occupation of Lithuanian soil 50 years ago, even before World War II started. It lasted almost 6 years—until 28 January 1945, when Klaypeda and all the Lithuanian coast were freed by the Soviet Army from the fascist German invaders and reunited with Lithuania forever."

Revival of German Autonomous Republic Proposed

LD3103050489 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Excerpts] The founding conference of the Soviet-German society "Rebirth" opened here in Moscow on Wednesday. There are 2.2 million ethnic Germans in this country. More about the problems facing these poeple in the following report from the conference. [passage omitted]

Last year alone, 50,000 Germans left this country for the Federal Republic and another 12,000 have moved there over the first 3 months of this year. The Moscow conference explains the emigration rise largely by this country's failure for decades to tackle the issue of the Germans' statehood. Most speakers at the conference are pressing for the restoration of the autonomous German republic in the Volga region which used to be there, until August 1941. [passage omitted]

A member of the conference' organizing c[illegible]ee Hugo Wormsbecher describes the position of Soviet Germans today.

[Wormsbecher in Russian fading into announcer's English report] He says there is no single government body in this country to defend the ethnic interests of the 2 million people. Last Sunday's elections of people's deputies again left the Soviet Germans unrepresented in the highest legislative body. Ethnic culture is virtually absent.

And still the public movement Wormsbecher represents sees the future of the Soviet Germans as connected with their Soviet homeland. The conference participants adopted the text of a message to the Communist Party Central Committee and Hugo Wormsbecher summarizes the main ideas of it.

[Wormsbecher in Russian fading into announcer's report] It is essential, he says, that the only correct way to resolve the problem of the Soviet Germans be the one suggested by the people themselves, namely that the German autonomous republic in the Volga region be reestablished. A special government commission should take care of practical action on the problem.

* 'Special' Railcar Moves Spent Nuclear Fuel

WA18290141 Moscow GUDOK in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 4

[O. Stolyarov report: "The Special Train"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] **The development of nuclear power engineering was unexpectedly divided into pre-Chernobyl and post-Chernobyl—from euphoria about safety to "radiophobia." These poles of opinion are creating a storm in the press. Among the arguments of the opponents of nuclear power stations a major role is played by the problem of radioactive waste disposal. Here the accent has shifted toward fear and rumors....**

Many railroad workers in the southeast telephoned the GUDOK office in Voronezh following publication on 22 January in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA of the response from B.A. Semenov, the first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy on the disposal of radioactive waste. Worried inhabitants of Voronezh were asking: "Is it true that radioactive waste and other nuclear material is being brought into the separate storage facility alongside the Novo-Voronezh AES? In February B.A. Semenov clarified his answer in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. He was unambiguous: Only spent fuel from the station itself is being temporarily stored at the Novo-Voronezh AES. Nevertheless the questions are still being asked.

Our nonstaff correspondents visited the Novo-Voronezh AES. We hope that this reportage will dispel the doubts

This unusual train made up of six 12-axle cars has already become a familiar sight and has been coming here for several years now. And railroad workers have seen similar trains on more than one occasion. The more so since every time it is a train with special markings. But it is unusual to see the squat, long cars for the first time. One involuntarily asks oneself: I wonder what is inside? But before answering this let us visit that same separate storage facility standing alongside the 1-million kilowatt unit, which even now the latest car is entering.

The light blazes in a deep basin (temporary storage for the so-called fuel assembly with its spent nuclear fuel). There beneath an emerald layer of distilled water stands a 100-ton container, ready to receive six fuel assemblies. They have already been in the reactor holding basin for 2 years and more than 1 year in the storage facility and the "radioactive dust" has been significantly reduced. And now it is their turn to be dispatched on a long journey of thousands of kilometers.

The operator on the loading machine, V. Shchukin, confidently manipulates the levers and knobs. Nevertheless, physicist A. Semenets and engineer-mechanic A. Troitskiy carefully observe his actions. The loading machine uses accurately measured coordinates to go under the water to the fuel assembly, grab it with its long "arm" and carefully move it toward the container, where without delay it the assembly is lowered into an empty compartment.

And now the container is full. Crane operators G. Ostapovich and A. Sharapova take over. The container is covered with a massive cover, winched up and transported to the decontamination chamber. Here it is washed until absolutely clean. The needles of sensitive dosimeters do not react at all round the container. Having checked this the chief dosimeter operator I. Shcherbakov, gives the "go ahead" for loading. Now it is up to the railroad workers....

The doors of the car are open, like flapping wings, revealing the platform. The shining cylinder is slowly lowered from its height into it. Reminiscent of a picture in space. As if a reusable vehicle is taking into its cargo bay a satellite that it is going to service. And now the container makes contact with the platform and slowly settles on it sideways. And just as slowly the car starts to press onto the rails: hundreds of tons—a solid cargo.

This reportage could have ended here. But the question involuntarily arises: but what happens if the cars with this kind of freight are derailed? The design of the container is calculated for any impact and temperature. In short, the container cannot be broken open under any circumstances. And being alongside it need be no cause for concern: the radiation has no way out. And the four-man crew of the special train is well aware of this. They will deliver their unusual cargo to its destination. At the plant the radioactive waste will be extracted from the spent fuel, several kilograms in each fuel assembly, and buried at a great depth.

[Photo captions read as follows]: The special car of the specially marked train; crane operator A. Sharapova loads a container into the car; the spent nuclear fuel is transferred to this kind of 100-ton container.

MVD's Bakatin on Maintenance of Public Order

PM3003130189 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 12, 20-26 Mar 89 (Signed to Press 22 Mar 89) pp 13-14

[Interview with V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, by V. Syrokomskiy under the rubric "Page 13 Guest": "Vadim Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs"; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Our Page 13 guest today is Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of internal affairs.

[Syrokomskiy] As you can appreciate, in the wake of Shchelokov's suicide and the trial of Churbanov and some other USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] officials, our readers are especially keen to find out: Who is now in charge of maintaining public order in the country? Could you therefore, as our Page 13 guest, please first tell us about yourself: Who are your parents, where did you study, how did you begin your working life, what "rungs" did you climb before taking over the office of USSR minister of internal affairs?

[Bakatin] The angle of your question comes as a bit of surprise to me. I can only say that the USSR MVD and its minister cannot and must not remain forever in sackcloth and ashes because of the rogues who parasitized on our system. Getting rid of the remnants of Shchelokovism and Churbanovism is a different matter. This is an important and, of course, complex question. At the same time, let me say this bluntly: It is not particularly pleasant to know that I owe the enhanced interest in my "personality" to the shady deeds of the individuals you have mentioned. But never mind, the readers' interest is understandable.

My parents: My father is a mining engineer, my mother a physician, and both retired on pension a long time ago. I was born in the Kuznetsk Basin [Kuzbass] in 1937. I graduated from the Novosibirsk Construction Industry Institute Hydraulic Engineering Faculty in 1960. I was posted to work as a foreman in Kemerovo's No 96 Trust. I spent 13 years at construction sites. My favorite job was foreman. Later on, as Vysotskiy put it, I "grew" from foreman to minister.

As for the "rungs," my climb probably began under the late G.A. Navasardyants, who was first secretary of the Kemerovo City CPSU Committee in the seventies. An honest and, according to current criteria, modern party official. He persuaded me to transfer to the city party committee. That was in 1973. The years of stagnation. They inflicted great damage on the party and the people. There were many follies committed also in the Kuznetsk region.

I would nevertheless venture to say that even at that time, despite the stagnation, many party organizations—part of the flesh and blood of mine and plant collectives—honestly served the cause of socialism. Whenever they perceived anything wrong, they did not hesitate to say so openly to any leader. It was no accident that some oblast party committee [obkom] secretaries at the time gave a wide berth to, for example, Communists from the Kuznetsk metallurgical combine. I consider myself lucky and will always be proud to have been raised by the party organization of Kuzbass workers.

To continue the list of "my universities," they include work in the CPSU Central Committee as member of a group of inspectors, when I had an opportunity to visit many parts of the country and mainly to meet creative people. To my benefit, I graduated from the Academy of Social Sciences.

I spent 2 years as first secretary of the Kirov Party Obkom. I gained a lot from contacts with the peasants and working people in the Vyatka River valley. I felt sorry to leave when I had to go back to my native parts where Kuzbass Communists entrusted me with heading the Obkom Bureau. I won't say that it was easy, but when the CPSU Central Committee and the government assigned to me the duties of minister of internal affairs I did not feel entitled to turn down an equally difficult job.

The last thing I would like is to give your readers the impression of having led some sort of "textbook" life. I personally do not think so. I have many shortcomings. I have at times lacked the personal qualities and abilities to properly organize matters. I do have pride, but without any careerism.

[Syrokomskiy] Were you afraid of militiamen as a child? Were they used as a bogeyman to scare you? And how about "Uncle Stepa" ["Dyadya Stepa"], have you read it?

[Bakatin] I cannot recall any militiamen in my childhood. I spent my childhood in the small mining town of Kiselevsk. There were only a few militiamen there at the time. There were German and Japanese prisoners of war, there were exiled Soviet people. But we children were not afraid of them. We were even friendly with some of them.

I have read "Uncle Stepa" to my sons. I have been struck since childhood by S.Ya. Marshak's poetry and Boris Zhitkov's book "Things I Have Seen" ["Chto Ya Videl"].

[Syrokomskiy] And now, please tell our readers about the MVD leadership: the deputy ministers, the main administration chiefs.

[Bakatin] I have already formed a certain impression of the deputy ministers and the main administration chiefs—quite knowledgeable people. But it is still too early to appraise them in public.

[Syrokomskiy] It is well known that crime in the country is rising. What is the greatest worry of internal affairs organs? What could be said about crime detection and the number of prisoners in our country compared with other countries?

[Bakatin] The level of detected crime (statistically speaking) in our country is significantly lower than in the United States, for example: The figures for our country are 657 persons per 100,000 inhabitants, against 5,500 in the United States (according to data for 1987). [sentence as published] The number of prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants here and in the United States is now approximately comparable, with figures for our country somewhat higher.

These figures should, of course, be approached critically. But even taking statistical inaccuracies into account, there can be no doubt at all that crime levels in the United States are considerably higher. We must give this some serious thought. Why? In order not to lose our positions while hastily copying Western "models" in many respects.

There is much good to be learned from the Americans. Like, for example, the level of technical equipment and professionalism in the police and the monitoring of incomes. But there is also a need for sound scientific study of the reason for their obviously unsatisfactory situation as regards crime. Of course, this should not be done in order to revert to the primitivism of smugness and giddiness at our own "superiority." But in order not to repeat other people's mistakes. Especially since we have grounds for concern. Crime is rising.

The simplest explanation, and one which, by the way, can be read in the newspapers, is this: The militia cannot cope with the duties assigned to it. Nobody will argue about this. But if you pause to think, matters go beyond this. The causes of crime lie in the totality and interaction of all processes occurring within society. We would get lost if we were to start analyzing them, and there is no point in hasty conclusions.

The militia is worried about everything. Most of all, however, by the marked "decrease in the age" of criminals. Persons aged under 29 years represented 50 percent of all detected criminals in 1987 and reached 55 percent last year, and there has been an 11-percent rise in juvenile crime.

The "clearup rate" in our country, just like the "success rate" in the past, used to be somewhere near the "100" percent mark. Now it has sharply declined. But not so much because investigators have become worse at their work. They are actually working more honestly!

As regards a comparison of our clearup rate with other countries, it is lower for most crimes. But these matters are hardly comparable.

A way out of this situation must be sought primarily through the difficult process of abandoning the deep-rooted habit of squeezing all the diversity of life into percentages and old dogmas. Our entire statistical system, coupled with the Criminal Procedure Code, which offers the leader of law enforcement organs a rigidly limited time to take one of two alternatives—either "to open a criminal case" or "to refuse to open it," seems to be especially adapted to always ensuring the necessary more or less favorable "indicators" and not linking in any way the level of expenditure on the struggle against crime with its real dynamics. We must introduce a system of registration and incentives which would ensure that there was no advantage in covering up crimes. And the sooner this is done, the better.

[Syrokomskiy] Over the last few years we have found out with a sense of amazement, distress, and shame that there is a mafia not only in Sicily but also in the USSR, that drug addiction does not exist only in the United States, nor prostitution only in France. And even racketeering—something totally unimaginable—everything apparently exists also in our country! How come? The further we advance along our path, the more...?

[Bakatin] I would not phrase the question this way. The fact that we did not know, or rather that the mass media formerly kept silent about these phenomena—not without appropriate instructions—does not mean that they did not exist. The oldest profession existed before 1917, and will probably exist also in the future. Just like violence, corruption, and drug addiction. It may be a matter of scale. The plague of drug addiction is spreading all over the world and is independent of political systems.

As regards racketeering (extortion through violence, threats, and blackmail), it flourishes most luxuriantly wherever large revenues are generated. We are abandoning leveling—the main brake on acceleration. Enterprising and energetic people and collectives (we are talking about honest people and not about rogues) can earn a lot today. Naturally, the criminal world has acquired a new and previously almost nonexistent field for action.

The complexity (temporary, I believe) of the struggle against this evil is rooted, first, in the fact that some cooperative members, earning dishonest incomes, feel "embarrassed" to make official reports of extortion to the law enforcement organs and prefer to share their income by bribing the racketeers and hiring them (and even privately hiring the militia) for protection.

Second, it is rooted in legislative shortcomings. We need a really harsh law against racketeering. This is unavoidable.

And third. The militia must learn to struggle against a strong enemy. We do not have sufficient forces to tackle organized crime.

As regards our path, first, the rise in crime is a global phenomenon like, for example, environmental pollution. Second, even after making allowances for shortcomings in our statistics, the level of crime is, as I already mentioned, considerably lower in socialist countries than in countries with a pure market economy.

Some factors in the course of restructuring (the humanization of our law enforcement practice, the differentiation in incomes, the struggle against corrupt elements, and so on) have objectively been a shot in the arm for the criminal world. But there can be no question of retreating from these principles. The only point that could be raised is our delay in implementing countermeasures.

In all probability, we have not yet advanced far enough in the restructuring of our socialist home according to new blueprints. Therefore, there are no grounds for pessimism. But I do agree that there are grounds for worry and reflection.

[Syrokomskiy] Information on the level, structure, and dynamics of crime in the country and its individual regions is still released to the public only sporadically and in a fragmentary fashion. When will the USSR MVD start publishing this information in full and regularly, as is the practice abroad, in socialist and capitalist countries alike?

[Bakatin] Following a Politburo decision, the MVD has declassified crime data. Information is already being published. We will start releasing it regularly to the mass media in the very near future (beginning with the February figures). The annual results will be published in a separate bulletin which, we hope, will be on sale at "Soyuzpechat" kiosks.

[Syrokomskiy] The NEDELYA mailbag occasionally produces letters in which readers complain about unlawful and arbitrary actions by the militia, or complain that they have been beaten up or insulted in precincts. There are well known instances of corruption and collusion between the criminal world and individual militia staffers. What is the MVD doing to consolidate socialist legality within its own ranks?

[Bakatin] Every family has its black sheep. Some 9,900 staffers of internal affairs organs were punished for breaches of socialist legality in 1988, and criminal proceedings were instituted against 1,475 people. It is equally necessary to get rid of the bullies, downright idlers, and demagogues wearing the militia uniform. We are elaborating a major program to enhance the standards of culture and of all militia work.

Its main elements are these. We must pay more in order to recruit the best people. We must teach better. Curriculums are obsolete. We must discard stereotypes in political education work.

[Syrokomskiy] What measures are planned to ensure the independence of investigators and militia staffers from local influence?

[Bakatin] It depends on what you mean by "local influence." The militia is an organ of Soviet power. It is subordinate to, and serves the Soviet power. It cannot be otherwise.

But if you mean "telephone law," the pressure exerted on judges, prosecutors, investigators, and the militia by representatives of Soviet and party power or—which is hardly ever mentioned—by the mass media, economic cadres, and finally the criminal world, forcing them to break the law, I would give the following answer.

The fundamental solution of this question lies along the path of the process of democratization and restructuring of our political system which has been launched by the party. Ultimately, when persons genuinely elected by the people come to power everywhere, nobody will even think of protecting the militia from their influence.

Second: The cadres of law enforcement organs. There are two ends to each telephone line. If the person at one end suggests a deviation from the law, the person at the other must disagree. And if he does agree he has committed a crime, and no excuses at all—like being forced to do so—can change matters. There is no room for such "principles" in the law enforcement organs.

Both now and in the future all law enforcement organs, including the militia, will need stronger social and legal protection in the performance of their duties as laid down by law. There can be no question that every citizen must be protected against arbitrariness by the authorities, but the representative of authority (who is also a citizen) must be protected by law. I hope that the law on the rights and duties of the militia will be adopted this year.

[Syrokomskiy] The subject of the militia and the "informals" is now topical. What could you say in this context? And specifically about the "special detachments"?

[Bakatin] There are now more than 60,000 unsponsored informal associations and clubs in the country, and I have nothing bad to say about this.

But you are of course asking about something else. It is impossible to overlook the sharp transition from the generally positive movements which emerged on the wave of the ideas of restructuring, the revival of national awareness, and the enhancement of citizens' social activeness to formations which pursue nationalist, separatist, antisocialist, and other anticonstitutional goals.

These can and must be combated by political means. And if such formations clash with the law, for example, by inflaming national strife, force should also be applied. In cases when soviet executive committees, in conformity with the law, prohibit "informals" from holding demonstrations, rallies, pickets, and congresses and thus organizing provocations or attempting to cause mass disturbances, it is incumbent upon MVD organs to perform their duty by fulfilling the decisions made by Soviet power and ensuring public safety.

All the clamor around the "special detachments" is no accident. Send a correspondent along and see what they do. But.... The point is that we cannot overlook the multifaceted campaign aimed at discrediting the militia. Extremists are brainwashing the population in order to arouse a negative attitude toward the militia as "stiflers of democracy." There are also attempts to demoralize the militia from within and to infiltrate its ranks.

The stance of the MVD Collegium and its Political Administration is unambiguous. The militia cannot be divided into "fronts" or along national lines. Otherwise it will be unable to act as a Soviet militia and to perform its functions and protect the laws and citizens according to law rather than according to allegiance to various "informals" or various nationalities.

[Syrokomskiy] Are there any plans for the USSR to join the International Criminal Police Organization [Interpol]? This question acquires special importance in view of the recent Vienna accords.

[Bakatin] There are no such plans for the immediate future, but we intend to study this question thoroughly and establish the necessary contacts. Even though it is clear right now that the prospects of the development of international relations toward closer contacts between countries and peoples, mass contacts between people, and more "open" borders will naturally bring us face to face with the need to joint Interpol.

[Syrokomskiy] Staffers of correctional labor institutions themselves note that prisoners are badly fed, live in cramped conditions, and are subjected to all kinds of injustices after their release. All this is detrimental to the health, reeducation, and correction of lawbreakers. How is an end to be put to all this?

[Bakatin] How is an end to be put to all this? Just pause and think: Who and what makes a criminal? I think that, no matter how many faces the militia might have, today you would hardly find anyone naive enough to think that all crime and all evil stems from the militia.

It is necessary to elaborate, adopt, and implement a nationwide program to combat crime. There is no time to be wasted. If only society would really and sincerely concern itself with those who have been released from prison, with their jobs and housing! If only it would show a simple human attitude and consideration.... It would be nice if we all, champions of humanism and spirituality, moved on from theory and slogans to informal practical work.

Humanization of conditions in correctional labor institutions. The process is under way. But, it must be said bluntly, it is still progressing slowly. Additional resources will be required, and the main point is to prevent the degradation of man. This requires no resources. Just human behavior.

[Syrokomskiy] And a few more words about yourself, please. You are a construction engineer by training. It is obvious that you have to make up for the lack of professional training in the struggle against crime. How? Is the minister back at school?

What about members of your family? What are their jobs? If you have any spare time (I realize how rarely this happens), how do you spend it? What did you like best from the literature that has been published in the last 1-2 years? What is your attitude toward rock music? And that of your family?

[Bakatin] It seems to me that we all are now back at school. Anyone who stops working on his own education lags behind.

The minister of internal affairs cannot be a narrow specialist. Our ministry spans too many professions. It is a pity that I cannot consider myself a member of the esteemed community of jurists, whose self-awareness and self-respect have, quite naturally, grown immeasurably in the recent past. And they will have a most important role to play in the building of a socialist rule-of-law state.

So far, however, I have not found myself in a situation when I have been unable to understand a jurist. I like being in contact with them and it seems to me that our different higher education presents no barriers. My "schooling" takes the form of active contacts with legal scientists and militia work practitioners.

I have a large family. A close family. I already mentioned my parents. My grandfather was repressed in 1937. My grandmother, former rural teacher, will soon be 97 years old. My two sons already have their own families. My wife and I enjoy our granddaughters Zhenya and Katya. My wife is a physician by training.

I used to like playing hockey and drawing in my spare time. Now I play tennis on Sunday evenings.

I try to keep up with the fast-flowing and interesting stream of modern current affairs writings. I have not been too successful in this recently. The stream has swelled. As regards fiction, I have either read or at least leafed through all the latest popular novels and novellas. Frankly speaking, I like good poetry best of all. Yesenin, Antokolskiy, Smelyakov, Rubtsov, Yevtushenko, Voznesenskiy. I love opening at random books by Zoshchenko or by Ilf and Petrov.

I am cool toward modern rock music. I think that the same also applies to members of my family. There are no fanatics about it. My old favorites are classical jazz and songs by singer-songwriters like Vysotskiy, Vizbor, Okudzhava, and the Nikitins. I have pleasant memories of the Beatles and Elvis Presley from my youth.

[Syrokomskiy] And one last question: Do you have any journalist friends? Or do you perceive them as nothing but sources of worry?

[Bakatin] I do perceive them as sources of worry, and that is why I keep up friendships.... Seriously speaking, though, I like most of the journalists I know for their erudition, principledness, driving force, integrity, and honesty.

Why am I worried? I would like to see the MVD and the minister give journalists less cause for worry. Last year saw more than 2,000 items published in the central press alone.

Thank you for your attention!

New Press Office Initiated at Interior Ministry

LD3003152789 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

A press office, set up at the Soviet Interior Ministry, will include a press centre, a group for information and analysis, a section on liaison with the editorial boards of central newspapers, magazines and the state radio and television commitee of the USSR, it was announced at a news conference at the ministry today.

The new department will help the public learn more about issues related to law and order and the activity of law-enforcement bodies.

Journalists will receive on a regular basis information about the activity of the Soviet Interior Ministry, republican ministries, departments and other units subordinate to the ministry.

The press office is assigned to study public opinion on issues of interest to law-enforcement bodies and analyze the influence of the mass media on the shaping of public opinion on these problems.

Newsmen present at the meeting were told that representatives of the foreign mass media, based in the Soviet Union, often asked lately for assistance in preparing materials and arranging interviews with ministry officials.

As many as 74 requests came in 1988 and 1989. All required information was provided to the foreign correspondents.

Academician Discusses Glasnost in Ecology

PM3003150289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Academician V. Sokolov, academician secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of General [illegible]iology and chairman of the Soviet Committee for the UNESCO Program: "Man and the Biosphere": "Ecology and Glasnost"]

[Text] I agree entirely with the assertion of USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy V. Shabadey, whose letter I read in your newspaper (No 38, 1989), that ecological needs are still too timidly incorporated in our economic mechanism and that even today many of our natural resources are basically free. And while this is so, until ecology is written into society's income and expenditure accounts, it will take a loss.

A dramatic situation has arisen in our ecological science today. The public, having received a powerful instrument of pressure—glasnost—rises up against ill-considered projects, but quite often fails to propose any constructive solutions or realistic alternatives. Scientists are obliged to study how the Aral Sea, the Volga, and the Barents Sea are dying. This list could easily be continued. Today no one needs convincing of the need for nature conservation. But, on the one hand, people are gradually becoming inured to danger, and on the other we are still extinguishing ecological fires, instead of preventing them.

Here is a specific situation. It is well known that 85 percent of the world's sturgeon fishing takes place in the Volga-Caspian basin. Since 1984 ichthyologists hvae been observing a disease of sturgeon—myopathy. This takes the form of exfoliation of the muscles and destruction of the muscle fibers. Moreover, degeneration of the roe is observed in many females. In 1985, 20 percent of Russian sturgeon in the Volga were already affected by myopathy, and by 1987 the figure was 90 percent; in spring 1988, it was 100 percent. A unique population is on the brink of destruction. If it dies out, this will, in my view, be a great crime against mankind. This disease has now been found in other types of fish too: white salmon, herring, carp.

I am convinced that the role of dispassionate statisticians is totally unsuitable for scientists. Worse, it is inhuman and immoral. Therefore we are prepared to participate in the political, legal, and socioeconomic resolution of nature conservation problems.

Many ecological disasters arise from extensive techniques of nature exploitation, departmental monopolies, and the lack of effective state monitoring of the utilization and conservation of natural resources.

Our departments are used to producing quantity, not quality, and moreover, they are not used to worrying about the reproduction of the quantity, namely natural resources. Thus the custodian of our water, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, for want of the necessary monitoring of the quality and use of water sources, reduced them to a lamentable condition. But 160 scientific institutes of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources backed up its departmental monopoly, and are still safeguarding it.

But it is no longer a question of an individual department. The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is a component in a system of specific economic relationships. Within this system, far from being accidental, it is only natural that it, like other departments, usurps natural resources, since it has no interest in saving or improving them.

Our administrative system also leads to a lack of personal responsibility. Facelessness has long been its characteristic. I support those who demand the incorporation of an article in our legislation on ecological crime and ecological criminals. Those who are guilty of ecological genocide must be named and severely punished, whoever they are. It would even be possible to hold show trials mentioning all the "scientific" experts behind such projects. Incidentally, the culprits should pay fines for damage to nature from their own pocket, not from the state's resources. And these fines, I believe, instead of simply being paid into the state budget, could be used for specific nature conservation measures associated with the very sites that were damaged.

One of the prime tasks of the soviets of people's deputies is to develop socialist legislation in the sphere of nature conservation and the utilization of natural resources. We have laws on the protection of the atmosphere, water, land, the animal world. But we do not have the corresponding regulations; strict, specific measures of responsibility for violating these laws are not laid down, and there is not the necessary monitoring on the part of the prosecutor's office.

It is necessary in a very short space of time, in my view, to introduce extradepartmental monitoring of the fulfillment of nature conservation laws. The great hopes we all pinned on the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation have yet to be justified. Here I am not talking about the people who work on the committee, but about their rights. On the eve of the formation of the State Committee for Nature Conservation Leonid Leonov wrote in IZVESTIYA that "this body must be given every right, up to and including the right of veto. It should resemble in its incorruptibility those Roman consuls for whom the supreme principle was: 'Let the consuls see that the state suffers no damage.'"

But the committee did not receive such rights. On the contrary, whereas formerly the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Nature Conservation Commission was headed by a first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the committee's chairman has the rights of an ordinary minister. So the status of the leader of nature conservation has fallen. The decision on the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation is inherently halfhearted. Without a strengthening of its rights and positions in relation to both the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, all actions directed toward conservation of the environment will trickle away like water into the sand.

Revolutionary transformations in nature utilization inevitably lead to the exacerbation of contradictions between the economy and ecology. In order to resolve them promptly, the committee should have a higher status. I believe the USSR Supreme Soviet should have a Nature Conservation Commission that is more effective than at present, made up of ecologist deputies with the broadest powers and with legal support. This commission could also take charge of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, which should perhaps be removed from the jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers and given the functions of a supradepartmental monitoring body accountable only to the Supreme Soviet. The participation of people's deputies in the preparation and discussion of finance plans (from state to local level) should be genuine, not merely formal.

In this case the executive apparatus will supply deputies with the justification for the proposed use of resources and alternative proposals. Before taking a final decision in connection with the utilization of nature, deputies will be able to examine several carefully argued projects. I think that in this connection they will have to master the techniques of debating, of evidence. After all, while only one project exists, the arguments of its opponents are, as a rule, rejected outright. Yet we are on the eve of a switch to a new form of ecological thinking involving a variety of alternatives. Because without this, without considering several alternative, scientifically substantiated projects before intervening in natural processes, we will not succeed in protecting the environment.

Any work involving the use of natural resources or affecting them needs an independent ecological and economic expert report involving leading scientists and specialists of the USSR Academy of Sciences, republican academies, and the country's academic and scientific research institutes. We cannot economize on this. And although we already have many examples to prove it, our society does not yet recognize the role of science, which is often required to produce instant economic results. It is my profound conviction that this narrow-minded approach to fundamental science hampers the emergence of fundamentally new developments offering the basis for production by future generations.

Science should be a farsighted, front-running force in society. That is impossible without considerable material investment. I realize that given our shortages, it is hard to find the necessary resources. But one can recall the historic example when, in the famine year of 1918, V.I. Lenin insisted on the appropriation of considerable resources for financing scientific research. If we fail to invest sufficient resources in ecological research and expert reports today, tomorrow we could find ourselves culpable before the people. The question is where to find the funds. A strong power concentrated in the soviets could help here.

Social funds could be a significant source of resources. There should clearly be many of them. But citizens' resources are not unlimited. The funds that presently exist are rather faceless, and the people who contribute money often do not know where their resources are going. Yet people ought to know this quite clearly. The destinations of their donations should be specified. So specific funds are needed for Baykal, the Aral Sea, and so forth. And people should be confident that they are not subsidizing the administrative apparatus or the management of the fund, as often happens now, but work to save Baykal specifically, the Aral Sea specifically, the Volga specifically.

We have recently witnessed the formation of a large number of social nature conservation organizations, including informal organizations. And that must be gratifying. But it is a pity that nearly every one of these organizations talks about global problems, aims, and programs. They often duplicate each other, and thus resources are scattered instead of being concentrated on the resolution of specific questions. Surely it would be better here for us to borrow from the experience of other countries and set up social organizations for the conservation of a specific site—it could be a little stream, it could be Lake Ladoga. And these organizations need help from the soviets. Without this official help, the informal organizations will not resolve any problems at all.

At the moment, every step we take, we encounter ecological problems that are common to many countries. After all, state borders and the borders of an ecosystem do not, as a rule, coincide, and this gives rise to the need for the formulation of joint, scientifically substantiated measures by various states. I believe Soviet ecologists should make the necessary efforts toward the formation of an ecological security council under the United Nations. At present, in particular within the framework of the UNESCO "Man and the Biosphere" program, we are formulating an ecological security strategy, without which ecological and cultural assets cannot be preserved.

We should regard the natural world as a single organism, and exploit nature more and more on the basis of scientifically substantiated, coordinated plans. Because only understanding of and compliance with the laws of self-regulation by the environment as an integral system will enable us to avert a planetary ecological crisis. We must not regard ourselves as the sole owners of our natural wealth. I mean this in the sense that when we use natural resources badly and thriftlessly in our country, we are being irresponsible not only with regard to our own people, but with regard to all people living on earth.

I am sure international cooperation in this sphere will develop intensively. The Soviet Union is a member of the international "30 Percent Club." This means that by 1993 we will reduce sulfur dioxide emissions into the atmosphere by 30 percent. We also participated actively in the International Commission for Environment and Development and in the preparation of the report "Our Joint Future," which analyzes the ecological situation in the world and constitutes a recommendation for joint actions by governments on environmental conservation.

As of this year the Soviet Union adhered to the UNESCO convention on preservation of the cultural and natural heritage. Cultural, historical, and natural monuments are closely interconnected. They are very often on the same territory and suffer identical effects from pollution and the growing burden of recreation.

We believe that cultural and architectural monuments can only be saved together with their natural entourage. Therefore, taking into account the experience of our work under the comprehensive UNESCO program "Man and the Biosphere," which unites scientists and specialists in the most diverse spheres—biologists, geographers, sociologists, ethnographers, architects—we proposed the formation of a single social organ for the implementation of the convention in our country, and received the support of the USSR Ministry of Culture, the Soviet Culture Fund, the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, and other organizations. We now attach paramount significance to the formation of this organ. I think it will be set up in the very near future with the participation and great help of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and we will be able to speed up the fulfillment of the convention.

It is necessary very quickly to compile a survey of USSR territories and cities that are suffering ecologically, outline concrete measures to eliminate the conditions leading to ecological disasters, and determine priorities for the investment of resources in improving the environment of specific cities and territories. Here an important factor is to inform the people fully on the ecological situation in every settlement and region of the country.

This is a complex matter. I know our departments are currently arguing about whether or not to make all information public, pointing out that the population is not prepared to receive it and that our ecological services are by no means universally equipped with good, accurate instruments for measuring radiation or harmful impurities in the air and water. MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, say, has begun publishing information on the condition of the air in the capital. But this information is by no means complete. It is not clear at which points in the city the maximum pollution levels are, of what nature they are, and where the minimum levels are.

My opinion on this is unequivocal. The population has the right to full ecological information. Our society needs this first and foremost in order to behave correctly with regard to the environment and its own health.

Without constant information on the changing ecological situation, without an awareness of the importance of these problems, the ecologization of the population's thinking is impossible. The deterioration in the ecological situation is directly associated with society's inability to foresee the general consequences of individual actions in relation to nature. Therefore ecological education must begin at a very early age. Everyone should know everything about the state of the environment. Without constant information about this, without accurate knowledge, we will not be able to improve the low level of ecological sophistication and morality among many people in our country. Without this, the restructuring of the economy on an ecological basis and the ecologization of the decisionmakers' thinking will not be possible. Without this, any progress at all is impossible for any human community as the 20th century draws to a close.

Gorbachev Plenum Agriculture Report Published

LD3103002389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] The pamphlet "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the CPSU's Agrarian Policy in Present-Day Conditions—Report at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 15 March 1989," has been published. The brochure was brought out by Politizdat.

Review of Contents of KOMMUNIST No 5

PM3003105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] The fifth issue of KOMMUNIST, the CPSU Central Committee theoretical and political journal, has been published. It opens with the article "The Main Thing in Muscovites' Work Is To Advance Restructuring Through Practical Action" by L. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Party Committee.

The editorial article "Vanguard Force of Renewal" is published under the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Experience." It states that the CPSU's role, its prestige, and the people's trust in the party are not just ordinary political concepts. Today it is a question of where the development of democratization and glasnost is leading and how the reform of the political system will proceed.

The same rubric features the article "Reform and the Defense Sectors" by A. Isayev, and "Economical Nature Conservation" by K. Gofman and N. Fedorenko.

The section "Toward a New Face for Socialism" features the article "The Dialectics of Humanism" by A. Panarin, in which the author ponders ways to develop civilization and socialism's place and role within it.

S. Yastrzhembskiy's conversation with Rafiq Samhun, member of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo; and Damian Pretel, member of the Spanish Communist Party Central Committee, on the problems of the Communist movement and restructuring in the USSR is featured in the "Discussions and Debates" section.

The M. Bronshteyn article "Regional Economic Accountability: Soberness and Demonstrability Are Needed" is pegged to the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations in the USSR.

A large selection of readers' letters under the heading "The North Does Not Forgive Mistakes" is published under the "Public Opinion" rubric.

The editorial office publishes a letter from USSR ministers V.S. Chernomyrdin, V.A. Dinkov, N.V. Lemayev, N.M. Olshanskiy, Yu.A. Bespalov, and V.A. Bykov criticizing the economic review in the second issue of KOMMUNIST.

The rubric "Science and Education" features the article "Science: Economic Accountability and State Support" by A. Golovkov and I. Lomakin; and the sociological paper "Teachers on Their Congress" by A. Iudin, A. Ovsyannikov, and D. Rotman.

A report on a "roundtable" on the subject "Economics and Politics in the Lessons of the 'Great Breakthrough'" and V. Drizdo's letter "On Krupskaya" are published. These items are under the rubric "Pages of History."

The article "Socialist Multinationalism and the World Market" by Yu. Shiryayev, and the essay "How Others See Us" by Ye. Chelyshev are published along with a number of other items.

Reader Suggests Regulation of Official Privileges

PM3003145189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from Kursk reader I. Litvinov under the rubric "Letters '...Not for Publication'": "Privileges: What Kind and for Whom?"; last paragraph is editorial reply]

[Text] The most diverse categories of citizens in our country enjoy all kinds of privileges. It is impossible to list them all: personal pensions, "medical" and preferential travel warrants, preferential treatment for housing, transport, medical services, obtaining medicines, the sale of goods, and so on and so forth. What is more, these privileges, that is, the giving of preference to some citizens over others, are laid down by the USSR Supreme Soviet and union republics' supreme soviets, the USSR Council of Ministers and corresponding councils in the republics, as well as various departments, local soviets of people's deputies, and other bodies.

I believe that in a rule-of-law state all privileges should be regulated by the appropriate law. All existing privileges in our country should be published in the press and a nationwide discussion held on the validity of these privileges, followed by measures to unify them.

From the Editor: The mailbag for this rubric contains a great number of letters concerned with the problem of privileges. The time has probably come to take another close look at the validity of privileges, which have been introduced at different times. Nevertheless, is such a cut-and-dried approach as the one suggested by the writer of this letter really needed here? After all, with the transition to economic independence, those who work better now have the opportunity to ensure better wage conditions and better social provision for the members of their labor collectives and the inhabitants of entire regions. Evidently, when discussing the problem of privileges it is important to avoid leveling, which could be presented as social justice.

Leaders Sign Obituary of Aktyubinsk's Trofimov

PM3003134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Y.N. Trofimov, member of CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Aktyubinsk Party Obkom]

[Excerpts] Yuriy Nikolayevich Trofimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and first secretary of Aktyubinsk Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Party Committee, died suddenly 28 March 1989, aged 57.

Yu.N. Trofimov was born 26 July 1931 in the city of Vyasnika in Vladimir Oblast to a family of workers. He was a member of the CPSU from 1956. [passage omitted]

The glorious memory of Yuriy Nikolayevich Trofimov, true son of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, will remain in our hearts forever.

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.N. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, N.Ye. Kruchina, Ye.Z. Razumov, G.V. Kolbin, V.G. Anufriyev, Y.F. Bashmakov, L.Ye. Davlatova, U. Dzhanibekov, M.S. Medybayev, V.M. Miroshnik, N.A. Nazarbayev, M.R. Sagdiyev, V.A. Kuzmenko, K.Kh. Tyulebekov, M.P. Dairov, S.B. Dzhamankulov, R.Zh. Kazgulova, Yu.Ye. Kotunov, D.K. Kulsharov, G.I. Rot, S.S. Sagintayev, T.A. Saduov, G.I. Kholodzinskiy, A.I. Shukhovtsov, A.G. Braun, N.T. Knyazev.

Economic

Finance Minister Gostev Discusses Budget Ills

PM3003155189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance, by E. Gonzalyez: "Ruble from the State Treasury. Conversation With B.I. Gostev, USSR Minister of Finance"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Gonzalyez] The Politburo recently examined the country's financial position and outlined measures to financially improve the economy and strengthen the money supply. What dictated those measures?

[Gostev] The country's financial position is currently difficult. As is well known, the current year's budget is running a considerable deficit and the money supply is out of kilter. All this is complicating restructuring and the implementation of the party's course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

That is why financial problems were specially examined by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. It was stressed that they result above all from the burden of shortages in the economy, its extensive development, the decline in production efficiency, and the imbalances in many national economic sectors, which has led to a reduction in the growth of the state's financial resources.

[Gonzalyez] Just what is our budget deficit anyway? Economists have been giving different figures lately.

[Gostev] The USSR Supreme Soviet session ratified the budget for the current year to show a deficit of R35 billion. Moreover, it is planned—and this was stated in the report at the session—to draw down R63.8 billion from the all-state loan fund. The total imbalance of financial resources in the current year will thus amount to around R100 billion.

[Gonzalyez] Will the actual fact of recognizing that we have a budget deficit help us or not? That is, can we count on a different attitude to state funds than was the case in the past?

[Gostev] I think so. The fact that the public was not properly informed about financial difficulties created, in my view, a specific attitude to all economic problems. There was a general conviction that the state had lots of money and, consequently, a freeloading mentality prevailed from top to bottom.

Our ministries believe that the most accessible way for them to obtain funds is to apply to the government or the Ministry of Finance. The influx of requests still continues now, unfortunately. Here's just one example. The Georgian Ministry of Construction was to all intents and purposes bankrupt in 1987. It was given financial assistance—around R300 million. A year went by, the construction workers failed to commission more than half of their projects, a considerable proportion of their own circulating capital was lost, and the republic government again had to appeal for help.

[Gonzalyez] I realize that there are just two ways to eliminate the budget deficit: by either earning more or spending less. But could you give a few more details?

[Gostev] A range of urgent measures has been worked out in four main areas:

restructuring the economy and further improving the economic mechanism;
overcoming the budget deficit, increasing revenue, and cutting state spending;
increasing commodity resources and retail trade turnover, and normalizing the money supply;
increasing the influence of financial and credit levers on strengthening the policy of thrift.

The budget's revenue base depends on the effectiveness of structural policy—that is, on the proportional distribution of national income and capital investment, on the dynamics of production efficiency indicators, and on increasing accumulations from profits, turnover tax, and income from foreign economic activity.

We do have opportunities to increase our financial resources. Suffice it to say that our internal economic resources run into tens of billions of rubles. Last year, for instance, one in five industrial and construction enterprises failed to fulfill their accumulations target, and one enterprise in 10 was in the red. These losses alone amount to R10-11 billion annually. USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers have been instructed to cut their subsidies to loss-making enterprises this year by not less than 30 percent, and from 1990 such enterprises will be financed on the basis of approved lists. The funds thus released will supplement the budget.

A great deal has already been said about stocks of commodity and material assets, above-normative amounts of which exceed R170 billion. It is planned to step up the influence of credit on destocking by raising interest rates to 15 percent.

Budgetary revenue should be swollen by more than R1 billion in connection with increased sales of consumer goods. In order to utilize more rationally the financial resources held by enterprises and the population it is planned to make more extensive use of shares in order to mobilize funds and to develop bonds as a method of attracting enterprises' available funds on terms advantageous to them.

Now for cuts in state expenditure. It will be substantially reduced. We are talking first and foremost about centralized capital investment, and the funds of ministries and departments released thereby will be transferred to the budget, while the material resources will be used to augment market stocks.

It is intended to reduce the volume of centralized capital investment in the production sphere by R7.5 billion in 1989 and by at least R8 billion in 1990 compared with the figure set in the 5-Year Plan. Such a reduction should not only improve the balance between budget revenue and spending but should also enhance the effectiveness of capital investment. It has to be said that because of dissipation of resources on numerous projects the amount of unfinished construction work has constantly risen and now stands at R150 billion, or more than 80 percent of annual volume. Above-norm stocks of uninstalled equipment top R5 billion. The introduction from 1990 of predominantly credit financing for the construction of new projects and production facilities instead of nonreturnable financing will serve as an effective lever in monitoring the effectiveness of capital investment and exert a kind of economic pressure.

Defense expenditure is being reduced by more than 14 percent as a result of the relaxation of international tension. It is planned to reduce the cost of maintaining the central apparatus of ministries and departments by 10 percent. As is well known, around 600,000 people have recently been released from state management agencies and budget appropriations have been cut by R450 million. At the same time the managerial apparatus at enterprises and in economic organizations has grown substantially. Labor collectives should be guided by the Law on the State Enterprise and ensure a reduction in the managerial apparatus and expenditure on its upkeep.

The total resulting from the increase in revenue and reduction in state budget expenditure as a result of the implementation of the planned measures should come to around R30 billion in the current year and more than R33 billion in 1990.

[Gonzalyez] What is the link between the state budget and money supply?

[Gostev] The financial improvement of the economy is closely linked with the stabilization of money supply. Money backed up by goods is the basis of material interest in the results of labor and the normal functioning of the system of economic incentives. The money supply situation has become more acute recently, the amount of money not backed up by goods and services has increased, and the issue of money has increased.

The main reasons for this are: the unwarranted growth in labor remuneration not connected with the end results of work and also the serious backlog in the production of consumer goods and, as a result, the imbalance of the market. An economically sound correlation between the growth of wages and labor productivity has been violated in many sectors, in other words, what is in effect unearned money is being paid out. In almost half of the industrial ministries last year the growth rate of average wages outstripped the labor productivity growth rate. A similar situation occurred at many enterprises in the first 2 months of this year as well. In industry during the same period wages rose by almost 12 percent against labor productivity growth of 5 percent. This cannot be tolerated any longer. Essentially this is eating into society's accumulated wealth.

The matters of money supply and the balancing of money and goods are crucial in economics and their solution is the most urgent task. Therefore the monitoring of the correlation between the rate of growth of wages and labor productivity is being intensified. Ministries, departments, and soviets of people's deputies must send to enterprises economically validated normatives for those correlations broken down into quarterly figures.

On the other hand, to stabilize the money supply it is planned to increase the sale of goods to the population and cooperatives this year by R12 billion by means of additional production, by reducing supplies to nonmarket consumers, by increasing market stocks of individual production and technical goods, and by changing the structure and volumes of exports and imports. In the 13th 5-Year Plan the rate of growth of consumer goods production must be at least double the growth rate of industry producing means of production.

Reducing the payment of unearned money and increasing the production of consumer goods and market stocks of these goods should eliminate the disproportions between supply and demand and the population's income and expenditure.

[Gonzalyez] Boris Ivanovich, do you not think it strange that we are talking about financial improvement and the mobilization of reserves after half of the enterprises have been working in the conditions of economic accountability for more than a year and the other half have been doing the same for 3 months now? In other words, I would like to ask: Why has economic reform not had an impact on the state budget?

[Gostev] I can hardly fully agree with the way you have formulated the question. Radical economic reform is working. It is another matter that immediate results have not been produced.

The first stage of this reform has been faced with the task of strengthening the financial position of enterprises, construction sites, and collective and state farms. It can be said that this is being achieved. With the transition to the new economic mechanism, a series of benefits were established for enterprises at the expense of the budget: 70 percent of the profit generated in excess of the 5-year plan is now left at their disposal.

As a result, last year the plan for profits was overfulfilled by more than R11 billion, while payments into the budget were R1.5 billion below target. What is more, with their transition to economic accountability and self-financing, enterprises were given aid from the budget to the tune of more than R20 billion—in order to strengthen their financial position at the start of economic reform.

Shortcomings in the implementation of reform have also taken their toll, of course, which is something much discussed today. After all, it is no secret that individual normatives for every enterprise make existence possible both for highly profitable enterprises and for loss-making enterprises with unproductive outlays and losses. Now, the main emphasis must be placed on stimulating the end results of work and, consequently, it is planned to abolish some privileges for intermediate indicators.

[Gonzalyez] But why make relations with enterprises so complex? Would it not be simpler to switch to simple tax relations—give the state a fixed portion of your profit and be left alone after that?

[Gostev] This procedure has already been suggested and the corresponding proposals are now being drawn up. Beginning with the 13th 5-Year Plan, chiefly tax-based methods of regulating enterprises' incomes are going to be introduced. What is more, they will be based on equally intensive requirements regarding the distribution of profit (income) between enterprises and the state in combination with tax benefits to boost scientific and technical progress, resource saving, the expansion of exports, and the increased output of consumer goods.

[Gonzalyez] As we have started talking about innovations in the finance and credit system, allow me to ask: Will there not be a change in the approach to the actual planning of the state budget? It is probably not very pleasant for you to hear this, but there is a fairly widespread opinion that finance officials today simply put figures on a national economic plan which has already been compiled.

[Gostev] I do not see anything bad in this, because the state budget has to tally with the plan for economic and social development. In 1991-1995, a reliable balance of material and financial resources and real equilibrium in the development of the national economy must be ensured by increasing the effectiveness of social production. Proposals are now being drawn up for the comprehensive restructuring of the system of financial plans. The intention is that they will be based on strict, accurate consideration of the state's financial resources. The intention for the future is to compile 5-year financial plans as an integral part of state plans for economic and social development.

The impending radical changes in territorial financial and budgetary planning should be an important factor for improving finances. The draft "General Principles for the Restructuring of the Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Self-Management and Self-Financing" has been submitted for nationwide discussion. Self-financing is the principle behind the reorganization of territorial management—this is essentially the idea that each territory will develop using its own income. In this connection it is envisaged that the entire system of shaping budget income and expenditure will be radically reorganized, while retaining the unified budgetary system.

[Gonzalyez] At present no such plans exist, so let us prognosticate. What are the thoughts of the people in the country's financial hierarchy on what is, perhaps, the main topic: Will the budget deficit increase or decrease in years to come?

[Gostev] We estimate that the budget deficit should fall every year although it may not prove possible to eliminate it rapidly. The full and consistent implementation of the measures outlined by the government should stabilize the financial situation and money supply in 1989-1990 and create the requisite preconditions for further improving finances and money supply in the 13th 5-Year Plan. But I must be blunt and say that this will not happen automatically. Every USSR ministry and department, every union republic and local soviet, every enterprise and organization must elaborate its own programs for financial improvement. Persistent and strenuous work will be required of labor collectives to boost social production efficiency, mobilize reserves in the economy, utilize the advantages of the radical economic reform, full economic accountability, and self-financing, and rigorously ensure that expenditure is commensurate with income in financial and economic activity.

* Successes, Failures of Economic Reform Outlined

WA18200283 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Yu. P. Kalmykov, chief of the Department for the Improvement of Planning and Management of the Economic Mechanism of the USSR State Planning Committee, and executive secretary of the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Improving the Economic Mechanism, by M. Berger: "The Philosophy of Cost Accounting. Economic Reform Is the Foundation of Restructuring."; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] **Economic reform has been under way for a little more than a year: the USSR Law on the State Enterprise went into effect on 1 January 1988. What are the lessons of the first stage of the reform, how did the first stage meet expectations, and in what way was it disappointing? What conclusions can be drawn from this, and how do they affect the future development of reform?!**

That is the subject of the interview of an IZVESTIYA correspondent with Yu. P. Kalmykov, chief of the Department for Improving the Planning and Management of the Economic Mechanism of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and the executive secretary of the Commission for Improving the Economic Mechanism under the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Berger] Yuriy Pavlovich, what effect did the first year of the Law on the Enterprise have? Which hopes were justified and which were not? What processes and trends were unexpected?

[Kalmykov] Specific figures have been published in summaries of the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] and, apparently, there is no need to dwell on them in detail. There are unquestionable achievements and just as many unquestionable failures. It can be said that on the whole our expectations with respect to economic reforms have been justified.

[Berger] And what would you put in the category of cost accounting failure and reform as a whole?

[Kalmykov] I am guessing roughly what is behind your question. It would seem that the mechanism has started to work and there are successes, but the store counters are empty. And this is despite the fact that last year we attained an increase in the rate of growth of production in group "B" over group "A". But this, as it became clear, is not enough. The income of the population rose by more than 8.5 percent, and the production of consumer goods grew by only 5.1 percent.

That is, on the one hand, cost accounting made it possible to earn more, and, on the other hand, it did not have an effective influence on the market for consumer goods, and it did not reduce shortages in the economy as a whole. However, the roots of many of the problems, you will agree, are not associated with the new economic mechanism but come from "negatives" of the preceding period. These are all things that are well known. First of all, there is the irrational structure of the economy with the excessive exploitation of natural resources. Is it good that last year we surpassed the 5-Year Plan by 18.1 million tonnes of coal, 18 cubic meters of gas, and 5.3 million tonnes of oil and gas condensate? I am not sure. The power capacity of national income continues to grow.... A decisive change in development priorities is needed, a shift of the "stress" to resource economy and the most modern technology.

[Berger] I would like to add an authoritative opinion to what you said. "For the last half century we have been persistently creating an 'economy for its own sake' that forced nature and reason and ravaged the people. In a year we turn over 15 billion tonnes of rocks, and we have long since overtaken the U.S. in fuel output.... We are ahead of Japan in per capita production of electric power. And what has come of this? The average salary is a little more than R200 per month, and, what is more, only half as much is covered by available consumer commodities....

"The increase in the rates of general economic development in wasteful, marketless coordinates is in essence Sisyphean toil, and more difficult. Perfection of Sisyphus's labor is not the way of restructuring—it is its dead end."

This is from the speech of A. N. Yakovlev, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at an oblast party conference in Perm last December.

[Kalmykov] It is difficult not to agree with this, even more because reform is targeted so that "economy for economy's sake" is transformed into an economy for the people. The only question is how to achieve this in the shortest possible time and with maximum effect. One cannot be distracted from such complex realities as the widespread use of obsolescent technology and equipment, a tremendous amount of unfinished projects, and a high degree of monopolistic practices in all branches.

These realities, considering the scale and traditions of our economy, have a colossal energy which it is impossible to overcome at one stroke.

[Berger] But is it true that all of our problems are tied only to the heritage of the past?

[Kalmykov] Of course not! Factors that are tied directly to the implementation of radical reform also negatively influence the economic life of the country. A lot has also been said about them. This is the incompleteness of the mechanism being introduced and its inadequate scientific provision.

The irrationality of individual elements has led to the fact that certain events are developing in a direction that is almost the opposite of what is expected. Analysis showed that the operating economic mechanism is not stimulating the optimal use of the production potential. Moreover, its individual elements directly orient the labor collectives on understating production programs. For example, the system of stimulating a 100 percent fulfillment of contractual obligations (plus 15 percent in the Material Incentive Fund [MIF]) and sanctions for their violations (minus 3 percent from the MIF for each percent of unfulfilled contractual deliveries) really compels one to take understated plans. But the new system of forming wage funds, as it turned out, does not induce an increase in the volume of production, but a reduction in its quantity.

[Berger] Well, good, there was an analysis, and the slips and "surprises" have been found, and so what happens now? For the tasks of the commission, especially in its new status, are not only to make a diagnosis, but also to cure.

[Kalmykov] Absolutely, and that is the way it happens. The commission, for example, has already gone to the Council of Ministers with a proposal to look over the procedure for stimulating a 100-percent fulfillment of contracts and deliveries, and, in particular, to abolish the 15-percent increment to the MIF. But when the contract is not met, the fund is not to be decreased, but penalties will be applied that decrease the economic accountability of the enterprise.

We hope that these proposals and many others that the commission is preparing will be reviewed and adopted in one form or another. That is, the work in fine-tuning the economic mechanism is going on constantly.

[Berger] This means that one can expect that the shortcomings of the new economic mechanism, with your assistance, will be quickly and completely eliminated?

[Kalmykov] One has to be a hopeless schemer to give a simple answer. We, of course, are attempting to do everything that we have to, but not everything is in the hands of even such an authoritative body as the commission at the Council of Ministers.

Rigid structures of economic management continue to operate where ministries and departments have retained former command-administrative functions. In fact, the existence of economic and administrative methods of management engendered a symbiosis of new and old economic mechanisms. As a result, the self-dependency of enterprises is still only declarative in many ways.

[Berger] Perhaps we should go, for a radical resolution of the matter, to such a decisive measure as abolishment of the institution of industrial ministries which, in the opinion of a number of specialists, is obsolete in principle? Then there will be no one to implement administrative dictates.

[Kalmykov] Close the ministries starting on Monday? There is no denying it is tempting.... But this would hardly resolve all problems. Rather to the contrary, it will complicate them. And still, the issue is more than timely. If enterprises have their own law today, then the ministries are operating within the framework of an old regulation, which was approved back in 1967 and which in many ways contradicts the Law on Enterprise. This means that the responsibility of the ministries for the state of affairs in all subordinate departmental enterprises is maintained as previously.

[Berger] Thus, you yourself assert that as long as ministries exist in their present form, they will operate in this and no other way. It will hardly be possible to "persuade" them even with the help of the strictest directions. Maybe, it will be resolved with surgical measures? What kinds of proposals do you have in this regard?

[Kalmykov] Our proposals are as follows. Industrial ministries, besides, of course, communications, electric power, and transport can be eliminated in principle, but gradually and in perspective. How will this occur?

The whole management structure is divided into two blocks, "A" and "B". Small and average enterprises which cannot do without ministries for the time being are concentrated in the first. Block "B" will be made up of structures of a non-ministry subordination which are associated on a voluntary basis. An example is the first state association of different branches. In time, large enterprises of the "Uralmash" type will be able to join them. Enterprises in this block will become direct permanent bodies of the USSR Council of Ministers: the Bureau for Machine Construction, for example. Gradually, with the development of a socialist market, an overflow of enterprises from block "A" to block "B" will occur, and many of today's ministries will simply be unnecessary.

[Berger] Well, although the outlook is not near-term, it is also very optimistic because the ministries today are pillars of monopolistic practices, which, in my opinion, is one of the main misfortunes of our economy. Are you now working out any kind of antimonopoly measures?

[Kalmykov] On the whole, this matter is under the control of the commission, although it is difficult to resolve it in a fundamental way. We write in all of our documents that when ministries create new enterprises they must plan for the creation of simultaneous production as the basis for rival competition between them. But the country is not rich enough yet that it can implement such proposals in sufficient measure.

The development of the cooperative system inspires great hopes in this scheme.

[Berger] Is it really possible to talk about any serious pressure on the state sector on the part of cooperatives?

[Kalmykov] Yes, as long as their share is not great. The total volume of everyday services amounts to only 5 percent, and in the production of commodities, it is less than 1 percent. It is really too early to talk about competition. But the cooperative movement has found an astonishing tendency for development. In 1988, the number of cooperatives rose by almost five times, and the number of those engaged in them, by seven times, but the volume of products sold by them last year increased by 12 times in comparison with the previous year.

Of course, there are still quite a few problems and shortcomings in this sphere, but it seems to me that there is every reason to have great hopes for it.

Our concept is that it is necessary to ensure that the economic mechanisms of the state and cooperative sectors come together, first of all in interrelations with the budget, owing to a single approach in determining taxes on income, and also on issues of material support.

With respect to tax policy as a whole for all sectors of our economy, this today is one of the most acute and pressing matters, and at the same time it is developed less than the others. If we now raise the tax burden on the income of cooperatives to the level of state enterprises, then there simply will be nothing left of the enterprise system.

[Berger] And if one goes in the opposite direction: decrease the taxes on state enterprises?

[Kalmykov] Indeed, the movement should go in both directions. However, if we slowly reduce the tax on the profit (or income) of state enterprises to the "cooperative" level, then we will encounter a tremendous demand for solvency from the population and enterprises, much greater than now. And this demand will not be satisfied to a significant degree either by material resources or by consumer products. But the meaning of reform is not only to ensure high income, but also to have things to buy.

[Berger] Yuriy Pavlovich, you touched on one of the "sore spots" of reform: the increase in demand over supply in practically all directions, both in the sphere of production and in the sphere of consumption.

[Kalmykov] First and foremost, this concerns the growth in the incomes of the population which just in the last year was essentially the same as what was planned for 3 years of the 5-year plan.

Is it conceivable to make enough commodities available to cover salaries that grew by 7 percent in one year, given a growth in labor productivity of 5.1 percent?

Enterprises obtained important rights in the sphere of using earned means, including the payment of labor. I am all for broadening independence. But in this case, here is what resulted from an independence that was not balanced by either a tax or another kind of mechanism that stimulates the direction of profit not only for wages but also for productive and social development. It was planned that the material incentives fund intended for wages was to have increased by 6.1 percent last year, but it grew by 33.7 percent!

Thus, the issue of state regulation of pay increases that depend on productivity growth came on the agenda once again.

[Berger] But you yourself just said that a lot of "extra money" has piled up in enterprises. Even the Sumi pioneers of ecoomic accountability ran into a tremendous problem with the realization of their profits....

Let us assume that the growth in MIF would have remained within the limits of the plan and that the balance of the resources was directed to the development of production. This would not do anything. The enterprises cannot use them to answer the purpose. The balance of the fund for the development of production, science, and technology on 1 October of last year amounted to R7 billion. The balance of the social development fund grew by a factor of two in one year and amounted to about R4 billion. Is it possible that their replenishment at the expense of the means of material incentives would have solved the problem?

[Kalmykov] Yes, the impossibility of spending money is a very big matter which is undermining the entire system of incentives of the new economic mechanism. An especially critical situation has developed in the area of finances and money circulation as a whole. In recent years, treasury receipts perceptibly lagged planning outlines, and budget expenditures for financing state capital investments of a production nature and other expenditures not only did not decrease, but they continued to grow.

[Berger] And, moreover, the volume of budget appropriations continues to increase swiftly, including in this year's plan. But last year the cost of closing building sites temporarily, as is reported in the journal KOMMUNIST, was R24 billion and those restarted in the same year cost R59 billion. In this regard, why would not the budget deficit grow and inflation appear?

[Kalmykov] Yes, incompleted construction is a serious inflation factor. At the present time proposals are being worked on to change the economic mechanism in construction.

What do we propose? Here are the main ideas. To go to "turnkey" project construction. To introduce a tax on production capital investments at the expense of the enterprise's own means. To introduce calculations for ready commodity building products. To apply credit financing of building jobs instead of budgetary financing; that is, to give out money not forever, but with a repayment with interest.

[Berger] Aside from investment policy, there also remains such a serious cause of financial disorder as unprofitable enterprises. Their number, as far as I know, is not declining. What is being done so that we do not have enterprises that are operating at a loss?

[Kalmykov] I would say that turning over the unprofitable enterprises for leasing is among the most effective solutions to this problem.

[Berger] However, the economic and legal bases of leasing are still lacking.

[Kalmykov] We have to complete the formation of a general concept of leasing relationships. We need to decide such principal matters as the scale of lease payments and leasing periods. What is to be done with property that has been augmented by the lessee, and when is the contract over? Who should make the decision on leasing?

The questions are not at all easy, and we by no means reached the same opinion on them. Some ministers are convinced, for example, that a contract can also be concluded for 1 year. We are inclined to think that the period should be 15 or more years.

Two points of view exist on leasing payments. Some think that it should be a financed sum spread out over years. The balance being for the use of the lessees. Others think that the payment should be calculated as interest on income.

I support the first version, because the increase in payment with a growth in income can constrain production efficiency. But, in the meantime, it is not at all clear yet how to calculate lease payments in one or the other case.

As you see, there are many issues, and not just in the sphere of leasing relationships.

However, despite the great number of difficulties and unresolved questions, I am convinced that the new economic mechanism creates effective stimulating motivation for increasing the efficiency of economic management and ensures the interrelationship of economic interests of enterprises with the end results of their activity.

The main lesson of reform for today, the first year of work of the Law on Enterprise, is to reject dogmatic representations of personal decisions. We have learned to acknowledge our own mistakes, and we are learning how to correct them. We are learning to search continuously for ways in the future development of reform, and to develop strategic conceptual matters, while proceeding from its basic principles and its philosophy.

* Import-Export Licensing Procedures Explained

WA18000701 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Transaction: Export-Import. About the Procedure for Licensing Operations in USSR Foreign Economic Relations"]

[Text] The decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers of 2 December 1988 "About the Future Development of Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative, and Other Public Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations," and of 7 March 1989 "About Measures of State Regulation of Foreign Economic Activity" established a system of state regulation of foreign economic activity. It includes measures for the operational regulation of foreign economic ties whose main part is licensing.

The licensing of exports and imports is used for specific periods of time for transactions for production (work, services) included in the list of commodities of state designation, transactions under way within the scope of export and import limitations, as a precautionary measure with respect to participants in foreign economic ties who practice unfair competition and who damage the interests of the state through their operations.

The requirement to license operations is compulsory for enterprises of associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations that directly conduct foreign economic activity. This includes consortiums, joint-stock companies, trading houses, associations for business cooperation with foreign countries, and other associations, joint ventures established on USSR territory, international associations and organizations, and all types of foreign economic activity, including direct production and scientific-technical ties, coastal and border trade, and operations for the exchange of commodities.

Licenses are issued to participants in foreign economic activity who are recorded in the state register.

Licenses for transactions in commodities of state designation are issued by USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of the union republics in accordance with the products list given them in the lists of corresponding production (work, services) approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

The possession of a contract by an applicant signed before the issuance of a license is not a basis for its issuance.

Licenses for export and import transactions that are implemented within the scope of established limitations (quotas) are issued by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations [MVES] for the volume or cost of delivery for each separate transaction.

USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministries of the union republics have the right to ask applicants for additional information necessary to make decisions about issuing licenses. Participants in foreign economic ties are responsible for the reliability of information submitted.

Decisions on the issuance of licenses are made by the appropriate ministries, departments, and councils of ministers of the union republics no later than 30 days from the time of receipt of the application. A fee is charged for the issuance of licenses. A decision to refuse the issuance of a license is sent to the applicant in written form. The issued licenses cannot be transferred to other legal entities.

Information about the lists of commodities of general state designation approved by the USSR Council of Ministers, and also about the introduction of measures on export and import limitations are published by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties in quick order in the central press. This information and also the list of participants in foreign economic ties whose operations are suspended or are licensed in a separate order are brought to the notice of organs of state customs control.

Standard documents on questions of licensing operations in USSR foreign economic ties will be published in the EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, in the journal VNESHNAYA TORGOVLYA and in the FOREIGN COMMERICAL INFORMATION BULLETIN of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

The main office of the USSR MVES (city of Moscow) operates an information-consulting center (telephone for inquiries: 244-15-33 and 244-13-35).

Agricultural

* Dangers of Fertilizers Discussed in Interview

WA18000713 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Nikolay Olshanskiy, USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production, and Bronislavas Lubis, general director of the Azotas production association, by Tatyana Tubinene; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] **Dozens of leaders and leading specialists of enterprises for producing mineral fertilizers from throughout the country have gathered in Ionava for a seminar.**

Today is a time of doubts about not only the need to increase mineral fertilizer production but even to use them at all in the republic's agriculture. It is a time of constant concern about disturbing the ecological balance (which has been written about repeatedly in our newspaper). The toxic wastes form fertilizer production at the Ionava Azotas are making their sad contribution. Our correspondent Tatyana Tubinene discusses this with Nikolay

Olshanskiy, the USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production, and with Bronislavas Lubis, the general director of the Azotas production association.

[Tubinene] Today a good deal is being said about food products poisoned with chemical substances. And, as we know, the chemical fertilizers that are constantly being applied to the soil are being "blamed" for this.

[Olshanskiy] In developed capitalist countries they apply from 300 to 700 kg of chemical fertilizers per hectare, without which, apparently, it is impossible for agriculture to develop normally today. In our country this figure amounts to an average of 115 kg, and in Lithuania it approaches 300 kg per hectare. We produce 28 million tonnes of mineral fertilizers per year, and by the year 2000 it is planned to increase this production to 48.6 million tonnes. Such is the reality.

[Tubinene] What you have said means that more and more mineral fertilizers will be applied to the soil. But yet the voices of alarm are very strong—our food products are being poisoned with chemicals....

[Lubis] A much smaller quantity of mineral fertilizers is used in our agriculture than in developed countries of the West, but the existence, say, of nitrates has been found only in our Soviet vegetables. Why? It seems to me that our problem is not the quantity of fertilizers that are applied, but the poor agroindustrial practice of handling them. They are stored poorly and they are applied without supervision and without rhyme or reason—without taking into account the individual peculiarities of the soil, without taking into consideration what is to be planted on it: feed for livestock or vegetables for human consumption. Moreover, certain countries long ago rejected certain kinds of fertilizers for the soil—such as, for example, ammonia water. Its very production is harmful: This fertilizer has a very strong odor, it is heavy, and the workers have to protect respiratory organs with respirators. Some of the ammonia evaporates from ammonia water during transportation and the fertilizer almost always loses the required percentage composition. Azotas long ago suggested to the Lithuanian Agroprom [Agro-industrial Committee] that it change over from ammonia water to a carbamide-ammonium mixture which does not have such a strong odor, is chemically stable, and is more effective. It seemed as though everyone was in favor of changing over to the new mixture, but...this matter remained suspended in air for many months because Agroprom wanted to obtain a precise answer, that we would not produce ammonia water in the future at all. And we could not give such an answer because, being under the jurisdiction of a union ministry, the decisions regarding many issues do not depend directly on us.

[Tubinene] You mentioned the shortage of mineral fertilizers in our country. Does this mean that this production will increase on Lithuanian territory?

[Olshanskiy] There was a time when only one thing was required of enterprises that produce mineral fertilizers—gross output: Produce as much as possible as quickly as possible. Nothing else was important. Then at Azotas they built the TETS [heat and electric power station] which operates on fuel oil, and they drove to full capacity the nitrophosphate fertilizer plant where they operated production lines that were installed without certain vitally important parts.

[Tubinene] All participants in the conference paid attention to the pickets of the "greens" at the entry to the Azotas House of Culture. The people gathered there had placards saying: "830 hectares of forest around Azotas have already died." I know that ecological changes have been observed in some forests around Ionava outside of those 830 hectares referred to by the "greens"—the growth of conifers has been retarded, the most that was previously traditional in these places has all but disappeared, and everything is rapidly being choked out by dense growths of raspberries.

[Olshanskiy] At the Ionava Azotas production association there is to be a certain curtailment and reduction of production. Because even today it is clear that we shall not achieve anything just by endlessly increasing the production of chemical fertilizers. We must learn to manage, to save what has been produced, and take into account the harm to the world that surrounds us.

[Lubis] A strange situation has been created partially because of certain mass media. They say that everyone understands that Azotas is poisoning the environment but they do not see this at Azotas itself. All the people in the republic are protesting against the production and utilization of mineral fertilizers, but Azotas stubbornly keeps producing them. They say we are some kind of bad guys. But what is really the situation?

The fertilizers produced at Azotas meet any international norms. This is important today when we finally can not only sell our products to many developed capitalist countries of Western Europe and America, but also freely dispose of the money we earn. This is the second year Azotas has been working under conditions of self-recoupment and self-financing, and therefore, finally, we have been able to change the production over to an ecologically pure basis, not in words but in deeds. At the end of this year we shall be able to completely convert our TETs to gas fuel, which will immediately reduce Azotas' harmful wastes by 30 percent. And although there are not enough phosphorous fertilizers in our country and we now have to buy them, we have managed to cut their production at Azotas by half. This year dust removal installations have been placed on all the lines of the reactor column section of the nitrofoska shop. And by 1991 we plan to completely disassemble this shop and equip it with the latest foreign lines for producing consumer goods.

We have already begun to create a second degree purification system in the shop for ammonium nitrate fertilizers, which will immediately make it possible to reduce the discharge of wastes from this production by 50 percent.

[Tubinene] I have had occasion to visit two shops on the Azotas territory: Over one of them hung a dense cloud of steam and fog of evaporating water. Over the roof of the other thin streams of steam appeared from time to time. And this external difference was far from the only one in the operation of the two shops. We are speaking both about increasing production and about making it ecologically purer. The first shop has not been reconstructed yet. The second was recently equipped with modern, basically foreign equipment.

[Lubis] This is the other side of the same problem. It is not simply production but ecologically pure production. And we have already begun a radical reconstruction of the entire enterprise—replacement of old equipment with new, which meets modern world standards. Next in line is complete reconstruction of the first ammonium shop.

From the editors:

Well, the plans are good. All that is left is to carry them out. But we recall that words, alas, sometimes diverge from deeds. We shall wait and see what will happen this time.

Scientific

Mission of Next 'Mir' Crew Described

LD3103055289 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] In our first item today we introduce the next crew who are to man the Soviet "Mir" orbital station. Our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy has these details.

[Belitskiy] The new two-man crew now completing their training are to be launched in the latter half of April. The crew commander Aleksandr Viktorenko already did a stint aboard "Mir" 2 years ago. The other crew member, Aleksandr Balandin, is a space rookie. They'll be taking over from the three men working aboard the station now—Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov.

The new mission is planned for 6 months. Here's how their research program has been summed up by the crew commander Viktorenko.

[Viktorenko's voice in Russian heard in background] Viktorenko says their flight is to involve another walk in space, or to use the space jargo, another E.V.A. or extravehicular activity. On the whole, they are to continue research begun by the first, second, and third main crews aboard "Mir." This will include work with the instruments of the "Kvant" astrophysics module attached to the station. Medical research, too, is to be continued.

Viktorenko's crew mate, Aleksandr Balandin had this to say:

[Balandin voice in Russian heard in background] Balandin says the next crew, the one that will replace them aboard the station, will have the job of receiving two new modules that are to be attached to "Mir." They will also test the space bicycle, an autonomous propulsion unit to be used by cosmonauts outside their spacecraft. Balandin says their main job will include preparing the principal unit of the "Mir" station for this work, also repairing what needs to be repaired and doing preventative maintenance on the equipment so as to make the job of the next crew easier.

I would add that the new crew are also to carry out an interesting experiment in growing protein crystals for pharmaceuticals. This work is to be performed on a commercial basis for the American company Payload Systems.

Meanwhile, the present crew of the station continue working on their research program. This has lately included astrophysical and geophysical work, medical examinations of the crew members to evaluate their condition and working capacity in the context of prolonged exposure to weightlessness. According to crew reports and mission control statements, all three crew members are feeling fit and are fully coping with their research program.

* Accountability Urged for Space Expenditures

WA18000709 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by K. Gringauz, head scientific associate of the Institute of Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, winner of the Lenin and State Prizes of the USSR, and active member of the International Academy of Space Exploration: "Losing Speed in Space"]

[Text] **One cannot say that the doubts the public has been recently expressing concerning the justification for expenditures on space research are groundless. TASS regularly reports on the launching of satellites of the "Cosmos" series "in order to continue research of outer space"; their number has exceeded 2,000. Our astronauts regularly float in weightlessness on the screens of our television sets. Soviet spacecraft regularly photograph Halley's comet and Mars' satellite from short distances.**

Yet the newspaper's readers, having recently learned a mass of previously unavailable information (for example, about our country's Armed Forces), in spite of the apparent abundance of articles on the subject of space, are essentially very poorly informed about our space research and the work of the space industry. This is perhaps the only zone we have left that is beyond criticism (demands to reduce expenditures "on space" without any justification cannot be called criticism).

Let us clarify what we are speaking about. State funds are spent for space projects related to two types of research. First, applied—conducted in space for practical purposes (for example, photographing the earth's surface with various lengths of waves in order to search for minerals, to estimate the future harvests, to study atmospheric processes, to search for schools of fish in the world oceans, to provide reliable radio and television communications on a global scale, to navigate ships in the sea, to create new materials under conditions of weightlessness, and so forth). Second, fundamental—it is related to the study of space itself—the physical properties of the space surrounding the earth, the solar system, and the universe.

The first type of research interests a great number of departments. Many of them are profitable, and it is even possible to obtain convertible currency for the results of some of it.

But fundamental research interests mainly the Academy of Sciences. It does not receive support from the departments, and it does not produce an immediate advantage, although, as a rule, it serves as a basis for applied research.

One can say with confidence that appeals to economize "on space projects" strike a blow (and they already have) precisely to this type of science. This is the kind we shall be discussing.

Research using spacecraft has changed mankind's ideas both about the space surrounding the earth and about the universe. A mere 30 years ago it was thought, for example, that the earth's magnetic field, as the field of a permanent magnet, diminishes as the cube of the distance from the center of the earth, that is, very rapidly, and that at a distance of about several thousand km from the earth's surface begins interplanetary space, on whose properties the earth's existence has no effect (not counting, of course, the field of gravity). But it turned out that the fields of plasma, continually emitted by the sun in all directions, interacting with the earth's magnetic field, draw its lines of force in antisolar directions, thus creating an immense extended area with a diameter of approximately 200,000 km and a length of more than a million km, that contains the earth's magnetic field which it is quite possible to measure. The discovery of this area (which reminds one of the tails of comets and can be called the magnetosphere) was at first underestimated by astrophysicists. But subsequent observations from spacecraft showed that such structures are extremely widespread throughout the universe.

It became obvious that the study of astrophysics is impossible without spacecraft.

The first revolution in astronomy, associated with Galileo's telescope, took place in the 16th century. After World War II the second began—earth radio astronomy appeared. Then satellites made X-ray and gamma astronomy possible. Earth observations of very short electromagnetic waves irradiated with extraterrestrial sources are impossible because of absorption in the atmosphere. Astronomy became all-wave. The second revolution in astronomy changed in an extremely significant way the picture of the universe we had previously—the number of observed extraterrestrial sources of radiation increased many times over and the physical properties of many new sources turned out to be unexpected. This is not the place to enumerate all the scientific results achieved with the help of spacecraft, not to mention delving more deeply into their details, but it is obvious that they will be included in the gold reserves of knowledge that has enriched mankind.

But what price are we paying for our country's participation in the accumulation of this knowledge? Is the money we have invested in this being used effectively? First of all one should recall that in order to launch the first spacecraft, we used as carriers powerful ballistic missiles whose creation during the fifties was stimulated by defense needs. The country was (as it is now) surrounded by military bases with aircraft that carry nuclear weapons and our vital centers were within their range while the United States could not be reached by our weapons. The creation of powerful missiles required immense efforts from various branches of industry, and when they were created out of historical necessity, the expenditures on the development of satellites and interplanetary equipment launched with the help of these missiles comprises only a very small part of the overall expenditures.

What is the situation now? It was noted above that we have already launched more than 2,000 earth satellites of the "Cosmos" series. The newspaper readers are disturbed by the immense amounts of money spent by scientists. But the scientists have nothing to do with this. Specialists (both ours and foreign ones) know that in reality almost all these satellites are launched not for "investigation of outer space" but for applied purposes, in the interests of those departments mentioned above. It is easy to explain this when one looks, for example, at the complete sets of the journal KOSMICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, which is published by the USSR Academy of Sciences and gives the results of the experiments conducted in the interests of space science, including on satellites of the "Cosmos" series. The number of satellites of this series on which these experiments were conducted can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

About 15 years ago satellites of the "AUOS" series were developed in order to investigate "near space" (i.e. altitudes from 220 to several thousand km). On these satellites Soviet scientists (in a number of cases, in conjunction with scientists of the socialist countries and

France) conducted a number of physical experiments. Over the years the design and technical specifications of these satellites have become outdated and their production is being halted. Nonetheless several more will be launched in the next few years. Glavkosmos [space agency] does not plan to design new and better satellites of this class although science needs them.

At the end of the sixties artificial earth satellites of the "Prognoz" series were developed for scientific research in orbits with great distances from the earth. "Prognos-9," for example, was sent out approximately a million km. Beginning in 1972 nine satellites of this series have been launched and two more are to be launched. The specifications of this equipment even 20 years ago did not go very far in satisfying the requirements for scientific research—in terms of precision of orientation, volume of information conveyed, or service life. Now, taking into account the development of technique and technology over past decades, satellites of this series look like quite an anachronism. Trade does not offer the consumers, for instance, cameras that were developed at the end of the sixties—since that time there have been several generations of new cameras. But Glavkosmos considers it possible to offer "Prognoz" to the Academy of Sciences again and to not develop a more modern satellite for similar purposes. Naturally, this offer cannot be accepted. Yet the space surrounding the earth (in which practical space exploration is mainly conducted) requires further study at a new scientific and technical level. In the space plans of the United States, Japan, and the European Space Agency (which combines the majority of European countries) for the next 6 years, an eminent place is occupied by the creation and launching of two systems of artificial earth satellites for studying the space surrounding the earth and solar-earth physics consisting of eight spaceships created using the latest technical achievements.

Modern space research for many reasons (including economic and political ones) is becoming more and more international in nature. The Soviet Union can participate in this international division of labor, naturally, by making the appropriate contribution, particularly by exchanging scientific information of a modern level. In order for space research of the area surrounding the earth not to come to a complete halt and to carry out international cooperation in this area, the Institute of Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences has decided on what I would call a desperate step: an attempt to create a satellite—A small space laboratory—through its own forces, through cooperation, but without the participation of enterprises of Glavkosmos.

The only new type of spacecraft developed by industry in recent years for planetary research is the "Phobos" which was launched toward Mars in the middle of 1988 (the "Vega" spacecraft are modifications of the old stations of the "Vener" series). From the standpoint of setting up scientific experiments it has a number of shortcomings, it is difficult to install the necessary set of scientific instruments on it, the volume of information conveyed is small, and the weight of the scientific equipment is small as compared to the weight of the entire structure.

These shortcomings are related to the incorrect interrelations between the Academy of Sciences and the space industry. The head designer, Academician S. P. Korolev, knew well all the associates of the academic institutes who had set up experiments on spacecraft of his experimental design bureau; he conferred with them many times during the development; and his associates were physicists who had similar ideas—after all, they were solving common problems. The same style was exhibited by G. N. Babakin, to whom S. P. Korolev turned over the development of planetary craft of his special design bureau. Korolev was vitally interested in the results of physics research and tried to encourage new experiments. We have now published the letter S. P. Korolev sent in 1959 to the Astronomy Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences in which he reproached our astronomers for their lack of proposals concerning extra-atmospheric astronomy; he himself went to the Shternberg Astronomy Institute of Moscow State University in order to stir up the initiative of the astronomers.

During the years of stagnation everything gradually changed. Now the Institute of Space Research is in the position of a junior partner (and almost without rights). Industry designers themselves determine the configuration of the spacecraft, the specifications of its service systems, the weight and energy consumption of the scientific equipment, and then they suggest to the Institute of Space Research of the Academy of Sciences: If you want to, you can use it; if you do not want to, you do not have to, but there will be no other. One gets the impression that the fewer the experiments the scientists conceive the more satisfied the designers are—it is easier for them this way. The designers have no real interest in the results of scientific experiments that go beyond the limits of the understanding of the ordinary newspaper reader (television picture, chemical composition of the ground); they need results from experiments only for their reports. Let us note that the loss of the first spacecraft "Phobos" is in the same category and is explained by the same causes as the destruction of the steamer Admiral Nakhimov, i.e. it is related to the incompetence and irresponsibility of people and not to any technical errors. The Academy of Sciences has to put up with this because it has no levers for influencing the industry that manufactures space equipment. Throughout the world scientific research institutes are clients and industrial enterprises are the providers; the former pay money and order what they need. In our country the Academy of Sciences does not have control of the funds used for the development and manufacture of spacecraft and they receive the equipment free of charge; naturally, the producer dictates the conditions in this situation. If these funds were allotted to the Academy of Sciences and if the design bureaus of Glavkosmos were financially interested in filling the order, the technical level of Soviet spacecraft and their work on earth would undoubtedly increase sharply.

The total expenditures on fundamental research of outer space using unmanned spacecraft (including both expenditures on the craft themselves and their launching and expenditures on scientific instruments) are relatively small as compared to the overall expenditures on the space industry, and the savings on unmanned scientific projects adds little to the counters of our stores.

Why are unmanned spacecraft called the main means of investigation of outer space? What research can be conducted on the piloted craft "Mir" and "Buran"? At the present time the orbits of these vehicles run at altitudes of hundreds of km where it is impossible to solve problems that can be solved with satellites of the "Prognoz" type that go as far as a million km from the earth. Because of the existence of a unique "atmosphere" near the space ships, that is, their "vacuum impurity," they are also unsuitable for much research that can be conducted with automated satellites at lower altitudes.

It is possible to conduct astronomic observations on orbital space ships. The measurements taken by the astrophysical module "Kvant" which is attached to the station "Mir" have produced and still are producing highly interesting results. But the module "Kvant" uses from the "Mir" station only electric energy (it does not have its own solar batteries) and once a day during one passage of "Mir" around the earth the astronauts orient the complex in the way that is necessary for the telescopes. If the "Kvant" were an autonomous unpiloted satellite with solar batteries and orientation according to a set program and according to commands from the earth (which is technically quite possible), it could be put into an orbit where the overall time of its observation would increase sharply, thus increasing the effectiveness and output of the telescopes.

But the astronauts' program at the orbital station is so filled with various tasks and applied experiments that they have an insignificant amount of time left for astronomic observations (a couple of percentage points).

The development and implementation of the system "Energiya-Buran" entailed overcoming immense difficulties and they are an exciting engineering achievement. But it is precisely an engineering achievement. There is no justification for categorizing these expenditures as expenditures on fundamental scientific research conducted in our country, and it is not easy to answer the question of why we need this system at this particular time.

In our country it has been announced that because of the immense expenditures required for the development of multiple entry space ships of the "Shuttle" series the United States has significantly reduced the national program for scientific space research. The same thing (an essential reduction of the scientific space research program) has happened here. The difference is that with our country's lesser economic potential, we, who have a practically permanent orbital station with numerous expeditions and an efficient system for supplying the complex with the necessary cargoes (which the United States does not have), have created an additional system—"Energiya-Buran."

Missiles of the "Energiya" type can apparently be used not only for launching the "Buran" but also for sending men to Mars. But the beginning of these flights is planned for the year 2015, and in a quarter of a century the systems for control of the missile and the sets of all the special equipment will undoubtedly become obsolete.

In my opinion, it cannot be ruled out that the main reason for the creation of the "Energiya-Buran" system was the desire of the branch to assert itself and not the real needs of the country and science.

At the international symposium in Moscow on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the launching of the first satellite an impressive program for research on Mars was announced (for the next decade with the help of unmanned spacecraft). But its implementation is beginning with striking laxity. Thus we have not even begun to develop the scientific instruments for the spacecraft "Mars-94" (which is to be sent up in 1994—based on the design of the "Phobos" craft). Even though abroad they are intensively developing instruments intended to be sent up in 1995-1996 (the time period necessary for designing and developing on-board scientific instruments is now considered to be 5-6 years). Delay in the work on the design of the "Mars-94," which will lead to a deterioration of the quality of the research, is apparently of equally small concern to industry and to the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

All that has been said makes one think that a continuation of fundamental research of space, which began with a splash in our country, is causing deep concern at the present time, but the plans for creating spacecraft for scientific research and space ships must be significantly adjusted.

In the United States the budget and the programs for space research are discussed publicly and approved by the senate. It would be wonderful if such a policy were introduced by the new USSR Supreme Soviet which will be elected this year.

Power Generating Unit Commissioned in Azerbaijan

NC2903132489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Summary] The seventh power generating unit of the Azerbaijan State Rayon Power Plant in Mingecheur, which is the largest power generating installation in the Transcaucasus, was commissioned today. The new unit is capable of generating 300,000 kilowatts of electricity. The generating capability of the power plant will be increased to 2.1 million kilowatts when the new unit operates at full capacity.

Military

Soldier's Hazing Charges 'Fantasy'

PM3003125989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

[Letter by Senior Lieutenant A. Ivanov under the rubric "From These Days' Mail": "May He Be Ashamed"]

[Text] Group of Soviet Forces in Germany—Esteemed editorial office, I am writing this letter on instructions from my colleagues. But first about the gist of the matter.

The USSR Defense Ministry reception room received a letter from the mother of Private A. Kuchmenko, serving in a subunit of our unit. It reported the unbearable conditions under which the young soldier was living and how the senior servicemen were taunting him. As proof she attached a letter from her son—Private Kuchmenko. This letter could not fail to alarm the mother. Her son described painstakingly all the types of insults to which he had allegedly been subjected in the barracks. He wrote about the most refined forms of the notorious "hazing."

But events subsequently developed as follows. We were visited by an authoritative commission which began to investigate very scrupulously each incident described in the letter. The "facts" burst like soap bubbles one after another. As for Kuchmenko himself, he tried not to look into the eyes of his fellow servicemen and offered the incoherent explanation that he himself did not understand how "such a letter came to be written." To which it was reasonably pointed out to him that after all that was not the first letter. Indeed, we remember how Kuchmenko, without having had time to make the acquaintance of his new comrades, wrote a letter to his sister complaining of "oppression" by his "seniors" and about how "no one will leave me alone" here. Of course, his sister sounded the alarm and sent an angry letter to the commander. He began an investigation and upon completing it reassured the sister that no one was insulting her brother in any way and that everything in the letter was...the fruit of fantasy.

They spoke with Kuchmenko and warned him, but the lesson was to no avail. He did not abandon his "creative work." He waited a while and again composed a letter, this time to his mother

Here a question arises: What did he want, what aim was he pursuing in "bombarding" his relations with such letters? We did not have to look long for an answer. On one page of the letter our attention was drawn to a few lines carefully crossed out in pencil. In them Private Kuchmenko informed his mother how best to acquire a certificate stating that she is allegedly an invalid and how subsequently to use this certification for his release from the Army.

Kuchmenko did not deny it: He was indeed reluctant to serve and had thought up this way of achieving his aim. The military prosecutor had a serious talk with the soldier and warned him. Time will show what conclusions Kuchmenko will subsequently draw for himself from this.

Perhaps it would not be worth describing this incident if it were unique. But that is far from the case. I know from my own experience of All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League work that there are quite a few young soldiers who from the first days of their service begin to inundate their relations with letters, telling them stories about barracks procedures and "hazing." They ask their fathers to help them move closer to home, to make their service easier, or to release them altogether. In turn their relations begin to inundate the newspaper editorial offices and various bodies with complaints.

I want to be understood correctly. Yes, there have indeed between many shortcomings in the Army. And "hazing," too, has unfortunately not been eliminated. But that gives no one the right either to "generalizations" based on a rich imagination or to speculation on existing problems in someone's own selfish interests. Still less to sling mud at a harmonious collective. That is why I have not concealed the name of the "hero" of this story under a pseudonym. May he be ashamed.

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